

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
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FOI/PA# 1199215-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 15

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FD-36 (Rev. 8-29-85)

DATE: 03-26-2013
CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22
REASON: 1.4 (c)
DECLASSIFY ON: 03-26-2038

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

☒ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☐ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☒ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☒ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

(U) ~~SECRET~~

Date 3/15/93

FM FBI LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-153918) (P)

TO DIRECTOR FBI/PRIORITY/

FBI SAN FRANCISCO/ROUTINE/

BT

~~SECRET~~ (U)

(U) CITE: //3410:FCI-3/

PASS: FBIHQ FOR SSA [REDACTED]

FRANCISCO SA [REDACTED]

CI-1C, INTD: FBI SAN

CLASSIFIED BY: *sp3/aj/s*

REASON: 1.5

DECLASSIFY ON: X

APP. 98-1598 11/2/99

SUBJECT: UNSUBS, UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-
DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED
INFORMATION; ESP-X; OO: LOS ANGELES.

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED ~~SECRET~~. (U)

(U)

REFERENCE TELECALLS BETWEEN SSA [REDACTED] AND SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MARCH 12, 1993 AND MARCH 15, 1993. REFERENCE SAN

FRANCISCO FILE [REDACTED]

DURING REFERENCED [REDACTED] INDEXED [REDACTED]

1-FILE COPY

(Note) Corrections pgs. 3 & 4
1-FILE COPY

1-AGENT COPY

1-AGENT COPY

Approved: [REDACTED]

Original filename: *ABN 007W: 1534*

Time Received: [REDACTED]

Telprep filename: *ABN 00150.074*

MRI/JULIAN DATE: *188/75*

ISN: [REDACTED]

FOX DATE & TIME OF ACCEPTANCE: *0304*

45X-LA-153918-1

(U) ~~SECRET~~

^PAGE 2 65X-LA-153918 ~~SECRET~~ (U)

COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN SSA [REDACTED] FBIHQ, AND SA [REDACTED]

(U) [REDACTED] LOS ANGELES RECEIVED AUTHORIZATION [REDACTED]
(U) [REDACTED] AS TITLED ~~(S)~~ AUTHORIZATION TO INTERVIEW [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] A FORMER ADL EMPLOYEE, WHO MAY HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF

HOW THE ADL CAME INTO RECEIPT OF AN FBI DOCUMENT, WAS OBTAINED
DURING REFERENCED TELCAL OF MARCH 15, 1993. REFERENCED SAN
(S) FRANCISCO FILE IS AN INVESTIGATION [REDACTED]

(S) [REDACTED] OO: SAN

FRANCISCO. REFERENCED FILE INCLUDED INFORMATION THAT THE ADL
WAS IN POSSESSION OF AT LEAST ONE FBI DOCUMENT THAT MAY
CONTAIN CLASSIFIED INFORMATION. ~~(S)~~ u

~~(S)~~ FOR INFORMATION OF FBIHQ, INSTANT INVESTIGATION WAS
PREDICATED ON INFORMATION DEVELOPED BY FBI SAN FRANCISCO

(S) [REDACTED] DURING ITS INVESTIGATION OF [REDACTED] DURING AN INTERVIEW
(S) WITH [REDACTED] DISCUSSED THE
ORIGINS OF A DOCUMENT FOUND IN THE POSSESSION OF THE ADL
TITLED THE NATION OF ISLAM (NOI). THE DOCUMENT IS IN FACT AN
FBI LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM (LHM) THAT WAS DATED JANUARY 14,
1988, WHICH ORIGINATED IN CHICAGO, FILE 100A-57011, AND IS
TITLED THE NATION OF ISLAM (NOI); DOMESTIC TERRORISM - NOI;

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(U)

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^PAGE 3 65X-LA-153918 ~~SECRET~~ (U)

OO: CHICAGO. THE LHM WAS DISSEMINATED VIA COVER AIRTEL TO THE BUREAU, ALEXANDRIA, DALLAS, LOS ANGELES, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, PHOENIX AND CHICAGO. CONTAINED WITHIN THE LHM WAS SOURCE REPORTING THAT INDICATED THAT THE LEADER OF NOI, LOUIS FARRAKHAN, WAS IN CONTACT WITH MOAMMAR QADHAFI, FOR THE PURPOSE OF SOLICITING FUNDS FOR NOI. THE LHM, WHILE NOT SPECIFICALLY CLASSIFIED, WAS LOCATED ^(d) IN A CLASSIFIED FILE. ✓

[PREVIOUS VERSIONS OF THE LHM WERE DISSEMINATED AS ATTACHMENTS TO A SECRET AIRTEL, SENT UNDER CHICAGO FILE 199G-1076.] ^(S) THE CLASSIFICATION LEVEL OF THE ATTACHMENTS WAS NOT INDICATED.

AROUND THE TIME FRAME OF MARCH, 1989, [REDACTED] RECALLED SEEING A COPY OF THE LHM IN THE FILES OF THE ADL IN LOS ANGELES. ATTACHED TO THE COPY OF THE LHM WAS A COVER MEMO FROM ADL EMPLOYEE [REDACTED] WHO HAD RECEIVED THE DOCUMENT. THE COVER MEMO WAS DATED SOMETIME IN 1988, AND NOTED THAT THE ADL HAD RECEIVED THE LHM FROM "AN OFFICIAL FRIEND" AND THAT IT SHOULD BE TREATED CONFIDENTIALLY.

(S) [DURING THE COURSE OF THE [REDACTED] INVESTIGATION,] ^(S) COPIES OF THE LHM TURNED UP DURING A SEARCH OF THE ADL OFFICE IN SAN FRANCISCO, ALONG WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF CONFIDENTIAL POLICE

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^PAGE 4 65X-LA-153918 ~~SECRET~~ (U)

REPORTS AND FILES BELONGING TO THE SAN FRANCISCO POLICE DEPARTMENT. AS A RESULT OF THIS SEARCH, FBI SAN FRANCISCO SET FORTH A LEAD TO FBINY TO CONTACT THE ADL IN NEW YORK CITY, TO DETERMINE IF ANY BUREAU DOCUMENTS WERE HELD AT THAT LOCATION. THE HEAD OF INVESTIGATIONS FOR ADL WAS ASKED IF THEY HAD A COPY OF THE NOI DOCUMENT. THEY DID, AND INDICATED THAT THE DOCUMENT THEY HELD ORIGINATED IN LOS ANGELES, AND THAT COPIES WERE MADE AND DISSEMINATED NATIONALLY. THE ADL PROVIDED THEIR COPY OF THE NOI LHM TO FBI SAN FRANCISCO, WHICH PRESENTED THE LHM TO FBI LOS ANGELES. PRIOR TO GIVING THE DOCUMENT TO LOS ANGELES, SAN FRANCISCO SHOWED [] THE DOCUMENT AND ASKED HIM IF IT WAS THE SAME AS THAT WHICH HE HAD SEEN BACK IN 1989. HE SAID IT WAS SIMILAR IN THAT THE "T" SYMBOLS ON THE DOCUMENT HAD BEEN INKED OUT. HOWEVER THE COPY HE HAD SEEN WAS, HE BELIEVED, AN ORIGINAL COPY IN THAT HE COULD READ THE "T" SYMBOLS THROUGH THE INK BY HOLDING THE DOCUMENT UP TO THE LIGHT.

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AS AN FBI ORIGINATED DOCUMENT, DISCLOSURE TO AN UNAUTHORIZED OUTSIDE ORGANIZATION IS PROHIBITED. LOS ANGELES

(S) HAS [] TO DETERMINE HOW THE ADL (S)u

~~SECRET~~ (U)

^PAGE 5 65X-LA-153918 ~~SECRET~~ (U)

CAME INTO RECEIPT OF THE LHM AND WHO TRANSMITTED THE DOCUMENT TO THEM. (S) u

LOS ANGELES HAS LOCATED THROUGH A QUERY OF CALIFORNIA DMV RECORDS SEVERAL INDIVIDUALS NAMED [REDACTED] LOS ANGELES WILL PRETEXT INTERVIEW [REDACTED] IN AN ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE WHO PROVIDED HER WITH THE LHM.

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PER REFERENCE TELCAL WITH SSA [REDACTED] ON MARCH 15, 1993, LOS ANGELES OBTAINED VERBAL AUTHORIZATION TO INTERVIEW [REDACTED] SSA [REDACTED] FURTHER INDICATED THAT SHE WILL WRITE THE INITIAL 90 DAY LHM FOR THIS INVESTIGATION, IN AS MUCH AS SHE VERBALLY AUTHORIZED [REDACTED] MARCH 12,

(U) 1993. (S)

INVESTIGATION AT LOS ANGELES CONTINUES. (S) u

~~C BY 9993, DECL ON OADR~~

BT

~~SECRET~~

(U)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.) **LOS ANGELES TIMES**Date:
Edition:Title: **ADL Spying**Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

Indexing:

ADL Spying

■ In response to "Respect Free Speech, but Note the Words" Commentary, March 12:

David Lehrer's logic and reasoning leave a lot to be desired. His attempt to label Anti-Defamation League's spying operations as a public service is atrocious. He just added insult to injury to all intelligent free Americans. We are further insulted by his comparison of the ADL's understanding of free speech to that of our Founding Fathers.

The ADL's systematic gathering of data on law-abiding American citizens for the purpose of selling it to racist regimes in Israel and South Africa is spying, and as such it is an illegal act that must be punished. It is a repressive activity that must be stopped immediately.

It is true that extremists of all backgrounds represent a potential danger to our society. I ought to know. Jewish extremists blew up my brother and the building that housed his office in Santa Ana in 1985. The true danger to our democracy is organizations such as the ADL that conduct illegal activities on a regular basis and seek to inhibit our freedoms and constitutional rights.

Lehrer calls for protection of our privacy from "overzealous and invasive law-enforcement agencies." No, Mr. Lehrer. What we need is protection from organizations like yours. Law enforcement agencies are charged with the duty of protecting us from the "extremists" among us. They are doing the public service you talk about. The ADL does the spying.

SAMI M. ODEH
Orange

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-94 BY SP12 BTJG/m

65X-CA-153914-121
TBI TBI

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

LA TIMES

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

San Francisco Probes Private Spy Network

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—A private intelligence network with ties to an American Jewish group and South Africa is under investigation for illegally tapping into police sources and collecting information on the political activities of more than 12,000 people, authorities say.

As part of the investigation, San Francisco authorities say they have confiscated files containing personal information on a wide range of political activists, ethnic advocates, writers and other U.S. residents—at least 6,000 of them living in Southern California. Much of the information is allegedly from confidential government data banks and police agencies.

One former San Francisco police intelligence officer, who allegedly funneled police files to the spy operation, is under investigation on allegations that he sold confidential information about hundreds of people to the South African government. After he was questioned.

Please see SPY, A28

What we're looking at is the violation of the statute that prohibits the sale, use and dispersal of confidential information," San Francisco Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith said.

A portion of the information in the files appears to have come from the Los Angeles Police Department, Smith said. Los Angeles police initially declined to cooperate with San Francisco authorities in the investigation and refused to assist in a December search of the Anti-Defamation League office in Los Angeles.

"They felt it was a sensitive matter and they didn't wish to cooperate," said San Francisco Assistant Dist. Atty. John Dwyer, who is overseeing the case. "It's the first time I've seen that happen in my career."

Top officials of the Los Angeles Police Department declined to discuss the matter. "It's an ongoing investigation involving another police agency," said Sgt. Mike Williams, an aide to Chief of Staff Ronald C. Banks.

However, at least one member of the Los Angeles Police Commission, which oversees the police administration, said that he believes the department should not only assist investigators in San Francisco, but that they should also begin an internal inquiry to find out how the LAPD documents were leaked.

Date: 2/26/93

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Submitting Office:

Indexing:

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-94 BY SPY/600m

A28

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1993

SPY: Network Accused of Having Confidential Data

Continued from A1

in November by the FBI, which began the investigation, he fled to the Philippines.

Most of the information, however, appears to have been collected on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League, a nationwide organization that is dedicated to fighting anti-Semitism and bigotry. Officials of the organization, as well as its paid undercover operatives, could face charges of gathering intelligence illegally, authorities said, but spokesmen for the league denied any wrongdoing.

"I want to find out what is the basis for the department's reaction not to cooperate," Police Commissioner Stanley K. Sheinbaum said. "Unless I'm given a good explanation why we shouldn't cooperate, I think we should. And of equal concern is how these files got away."

Officials of the Anti-Defamation League in San Francisco and Los Angeles have cooperated with the investigation, allowing police to search their offices without a warrant. They acknowledged that their organization worked with police in collecting information on people believed to be anti-Semitic or involved in hate crimes, but they insisted that they did not violate the law.

"It has been a regular practice of the ADL to trade hate crime-related information with police departments," said Richard Hirschhaut, executive director of the organization's Northern California office. "It has always been our understanding and our credo in conducting our fact-finding work that we conduct our work from a high ethical plateau and in conjunction with the law."

In the past, both the Los Angeles and San Francisco police departments have come under criticism for collecting intelligence files on activists, political figures or elected officials who spoke out on controversial issues. Both departments have been chastised and intelligence-gathering operations have been ordered curtailed.

GSX-LA-153,978-1

TD1 TDA

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

On Thursday, The Times reported that an internal LAPD investigation found no physical evidence to support allegations that the Organized Crime Intelligence Division spied on politicians and celebrities.

But the San Francisco district attorney's office suspects that certain police officers have been working illegally with an intelligence network that operates nationwide in connection with the Anti-Defamation League.

The computer files seized by police include information on 12,000 people from across the United States and data obtained from several police agencies, including the Portland, Ore., Police Department.

The ADL is running this all over the country, said one source close to the investigation. "The ADL set up this great system for collecting information and South Africa tapped into it."

Portland police deny any wrongdoing and say the information they passed on to the Anti-Defamation League was available to the public. But San Francisco Police Capt. John Willett said, "We're looking at whether other police agencies have done anything inappropriate."

Arab-Americans are concerned that some of the files have been passed on to the Israeli government and its intelligence agency Mossad. One person among the 12,000, an Arab-American activist living in Chicago, was recently arrested while traveling in Israel, but authorities said they do not know if there was a connection.

Many details of the investigation are still murky because a San

Francisco judge has placed most of the evidence under seal until charges are filed, perhaps next month, authorities said. But the San Francisco Police Commission has ordered the release of individual files to those who were allegedly spied on.

None of the case revolves around the mysterious figure of Roy Bullock, who has spent the past 40 years as a freelance investigator and undercover operative.

According to investigators, Bullock, 58, worked on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League as well as other groups and amassed extensive files on Arab-Americans, supporters of the African National Congress, Black Muslims, Irish-Americans, skinheads, neo-Nazis, the National Lawyers Guild, left-wing groups and other activists in the United States.

Authorities said Bullock worked closely with police officers from various departments and collected such confidential information as criminal records, intelligence files, driver's license photographs, home addresses and car registrations.

Some of the information could have been helpful in staking out individual homes and conducting surveillance. Other confidential information could have been valuable to foreign governments concerned about the political activities of visitors from the United States.

"People talk about whether in the Computer Age privacy is being done away with, but you don't think about the DMV giving your driver's license to some police officer who gives it to an organization that doesn't like you," said Dwyer, the assistant district attorney. "This practice has to stop. You can't let the government collect all this information and give it to whomever they choose."

Bullock could not be reached for comment, but investigators said he was paid by the Anti-Defamation League through a Los Angeles law firm that acted as an intermediary. Officials of the Anti-Defamation League would not confirm or deny Bullock's association with the organization.

Among the organizations he allegedly infiltrated were skinhead and Arab-American groups, where he gathered detailed information on members.

In one case, his true identity was discovered by the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee when a Jewish guest attended a recent meeting in the Bay Area and recognized him as a member of the Anti-Defamation League.

"Usually we don't screen our members," said Nasser Bayda, executive director of the Arab-American group's Los Angeles office. "He was very active. He used to go to events. He never missed a meeting."

Date: 2/26/93
Edition:

Title:

Character:
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Submitting Office:

Indexing:

Most of the 12,000 files seized by police were obtained in a search of Bullock's San Francisco home with some confidential files recovered from Anti-Defamation League offices in Los Angeles and San Francisco and the home of then-San Francisco Police Officer Tom Gerard.

For years, Bullock worked closely with Gerard, who was once assigned to police intelligence and also spent three years in the early 1980s as an employee of the Central Intelligence Agency in Latin America.

At one point, when the San Francisco Police Department moved to restrict its intelligence-gathering functions, Gerard helped arrange for Bullock to work as an informant for the FBI.

The FBI, however, stumbled on to the fact that Bullock also was an agent of the South African government and began what has become a two-year investigation into the case. Among other things, the FBI tapped Bullock's telephone and recorded conversations with Gerard in which they discussed intelligence matters.

Authorities allege that Gerard gave confidential Police Department files to Bullock and sold files directly to another agent of the South African government for as much as \$20,000. Though Bullock may have acted as an agent for South Africa and the ADL, there is no indication of collaboration between other representatives of the two parties.

Gerard, who also worked part time providing security for Philippine Airlines, left abruptly for the Philippines, which has no extradition treaty with the United States. He later resigned in a letter to the Police Department.

The activities of Tom Gerard stepped over the line, San Francisco Police Capt. Willett said. "They were illegal. He should not have been doing what he was doing for a private party."

Gerard, contacted in the Philippines by the San Francisco Examiner, said he is the target of "the biggest witch hunt and wild goose chase I've ever seen."

Times staff writer Richard A. Serra no contributed to this story.

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~



To : SAC, LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-153918) (P) Date 3/16/93

(U) From : SA [redacted] (FCI-3) [redacted]

Subject: UNSUBS;
UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE
ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN
POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED
INFORMATION;
ESP-X;
OO: LOS ANGELES

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

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11-30-94
Classified by SP4 BTJ/cm
Declassify on: OADR

This entire communication is classified "~~SECRET~~". (U)

(U) [redacted] [redacted]

On 3/15/93, [redacted] DOB [redacted] of [redacted]
[redacted] Pacific Palisades, CA 90272, DMV license number
[redacted] was interviewed at her residence concerning her
knowledge of a document titled NATION OF ISLAM (NOI), and how the
ADL may have acquired said document. [redacted] was interviewed
under pretext and shown a copy of the document, in an attempt to
refresh her memory. She was not told that the document in
question was in fact an FBI Letterhead Memorandum (LHM)
concerning the NOI.

[redacted] indicated that she left the ADL about one and
one half years ago, upon the birth of her second child. While
with the ADL, she was employed as a "fact finder". As such, she
received information from seven ADL offices located in the
western United States. She also was in contact with numerous
local law enforcement personnel to facilitate her task of
gathering information of interest to the ADL concerning right
wing and left wing terrorist groups.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 9933, DECL. ON OADR~~

~~SECRET~~

2 - Los Angeles

RJH. ~~SECRET~~
FIS-LOS ANGELES

DATE (2) 3/16/93
REVIEWED BY [redacted]
ENTRY YES ☒ NO ☐

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1-AGENT COPY

(U) IIS ENTERED
SERIAL(S) 1-3

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FBI-LOS ANGELES	

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65X-LA-153918

[] indicated that among her law enforcement contacts were former Los Angeles FBI Terrorist Squad Supervisor [] and another younger male agent, whom she did not recall a name. She also recalled contacts with [] Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and [] Los Angeles Sheriff's Department (LAPD), who both worked right wing terrorist group matters, as well as with a female officer, name not recalled, who worked middle eastern terrorist group matters. She also acknowledged contacts with various members of the LAPD Anti-Terrorism Division (ATD), but could not recall specific individuals, because of continual turnover among its personnel.

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[] did not recall having seen the specific NOI document, but did recall having received several documents concerning the NOI. Being unable to recall the specific document shown to her, [] could not provide any information as to who may have provided the NOI document in question to the ADL. She noted that she got very little information from the FBI, noting that the FBI takes information but it does not give very much information in return. She indicated that the exchange of information with the LAPD and LASD was much better, and that the LAPD and LASD would exchange information with the ADL on a recurring basis.

During the interview, [] asked if the interview was connected with the recent Los Angeles Times article concerning a San Francisco Police (SFPD) investigation of the ADL for possessing SFPD files. As a pretext, [] was told that she was being interviewed because the document that she was shown had been found in connection with the World Trade Center Bombing in New York, and that the FBI was attempting to determine how the document found its way to a middle eastern terrorist group.

[] could provide no further information concerning how the ADL received the NOI document. [] appeared to be forthright and cooperative in her responses concerning the document. [] indicated her desire to assist in this matter, but could not recall any further information concerning the document. [] noted that ADL Regional Director DAVID LEHRER might be able to provide more specific information concerning the document.

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(U) DATE: 03-26-2013
 CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22
 REASON: 1.4 (c)
 DECLASSIFY ON: 03-26-2038

On



FBI FACSIMILE COVERSHEET

FACSIMILE

REQ. ☒ INT. ☐ DATE TIME

SENT ☒ INT. ☐ DATE TIME

3-17-93
4246

CLASSIFICATION

PRECEDENCE

- ☐ Immediate
☒ Priority
☐ Routine

- ☐ Top Secret
☒ Secret
☐ Confidential
☐ Sensitive
☐ Unclassified

Time Transmitted: _____

Sender's Initials: _____

Number of Pages: 5

To: FBIHQ
 (Name of Office)

Date: 3/17/93

Facsimile number: 202 324-4705

Attn: SSA [Redacted] Room 4246
 (Name) (Room) (Telephone No.)

From: Los Angeles
 (Name of Office)

Subject: UNSUBS; UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS

AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) / N.

POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED INFORMATION; ESP-X; OO: LOS ANGELES

Special Handling Instructions: PASS TO SSA [Redacted]

SECTION CHIEF / SECURITY PROGRAMS MANAGER Room 4246 CI-5 INTD

Originator's Name: SA [Redacted] Telephone: 310 996-3651

Originator's Facsimile Number: (310) 996-5359

Approved: _____

FBI/DOJ

~~SECRET~~ (U)

Serial 4

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11-30-94
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FBI

SECRET

TRANSMIT VIA:

☒ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☐ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☒ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☒ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 3/18/93

APR 98-1598

CLASSIFIED BY: SP2/63/SM

REASON: 1.5

DECLASSIFY ON: 11/2/99

153918
FM FBI LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-15533918) (P)

TO DIRECTOR FBI/PRIORITY/

BT

~~SECRET~~

(U) CITE: //34103 FCI-3/

PASS: FBIHQ FOR SSA [REDACTED] CI-1C, INTD.

11-30-98
 Classified by SP2/63/SM
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SUBJECT: UNSUBS; UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI
 DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED
 INFORMATION; ESP-X; OO: LOS ANGELES.

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED SECRET (U)

(U)

FOR INFORMATION OF FBIHQ, [REDACTED]

DOB [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OF [REDACTED] PACIFIC PALISADES, CA 90272, DMV
 LICENSE NUMBER [REDACTED] WAS INTERVIEWED ON MARCH 15, 1993 AT
 HER RESIDENCE CONCERNING HER KNOWLEDGE OF A DOCUMENT TITLED
 NATION OF ISLAM (NOI), AND HOW THE ADL MAY HAVE ACQUIRED SAID

1. FILE COPY
 1. AGENT COPY

SEARCHED

INDEXED

SERIALIZED

Approved: [Signature]

Original filename: AB00016.077

Time Received:

Telrep filename: AB000150.077

MRI/JULIAN DATE: 2114

ISN: 33

FOX DATE & TIME OF ACCEPTANCE: 3/23/93

at 0028

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
 BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
 DATE: 3/18/93

5021
 ✓

^PAGE 2 65X-LA-153918 ~~SECRET~~

DOCUMENT. [] WAS INTERVIEWED UNDER PRETEXT AND SHOWN A COPY OF THE DOCUMENT, IN AN ATTEMPT TO REFRESH HER MEMORY. SHE WAS NOT TOLD THAT THE DOCUMENT IN QUESTION WAS IN FACT AN FBI LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM (LHM) CONCERNING THE NOI.

[] INDICATED THAT SHE LEFT THE ADL ABOUT ONE AND ONE HALF YEARS AGO, UPON THE BIRTH OF HER SECOND CHILD. WHILE WITH THE ADL, SHE WAS EMPLOYED AS A "FACT FINDER". AS SUCH, SHE RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM SEVEN ADL OFFICES LOCATED IN THE WESTERN UNITED STATES. SHE ALSO WAS IN CONTACT WITH NUMEROUS LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL TO FACILITATE HER TASK OF GATHERING INFORMATION OF INTEREST TO THE ADL CONCERNING RIGHT WING AND LEFT WING TERRORIST GROUPS.

[] INDICATED THAT AMONG HER LAW ENFORCEMENT CONTACTS WERE FORMER LOS ANGELES FBI TERRORIST SQUAD SUPERVISOR [] AND ANOTHER YOUNGER MALE AGENT, WHOM SHE DID NOT RECALL A NAME. SHE ALSO RECALLED CONTACTS WITH [] [] LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT (LAPD) AND [] LOS ANGELES SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT (LASD), WHO BOTH WORKED RIGHT WING TERRORIST GROUP MATTERS, AS WELL AS WITH A FEMALE OFFICER, NAME NOT RECALLED, WHO WORKED MIDDLE EASTERN

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~~SECRET~~

^PAGE 3 65X-LA-153918 S E C R E T

TERRORIST GROUP MATTERS. SHE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED CONTACTS WITH VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE LAPD ANTI-TERRORISM DIVISION (ATD), BUT COULD NOT RECALL SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS, BECAUSE OF CONTINUAL TURNOVER AMONG ITS PERSONNEL.

[] DID NOT RECALL HAVING SEEN THE SPECIFIC NOI DOCUMENT, BUT DID RECALL HAVING RECEIVED SEVERAL DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE NOI. BEING UNABLE TO RECALL THE SPECIFIC DOCUMENT SHOWN TO HER, [] COULD NOT PROVIDE ANY INFORMATION AS TO WHO MAY HAVE PROVIDED THE NOI DOCUMENT IN QUESTION TO THE ADL. SHE NOTED THAT SHE GOT VERY LITTLE INFORMATION FROM THE FBI, NOTING THAT THE FBI TAKES INFORMATION BUT IT DOES NOT GIVE VERY MUCH INFORMATION IN RETURN. SHE INDICATED THAT THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION WITH THE LAPD AND LASD WAS MUCH BETTER, AND THAT THE LAPD AND LASD WOULD EXCHANGE INFORMATION WITH THE ADL ON A RECURRING BASIS.

DURING THE INTERVIEW, [] ASKED IF THE INTERVIEW WAS CONNECTED WITH THE RECENT LOS ANGELES TIMES ARTICLE CONCERNING A SAN FRANCISCO POLICE (SFPD) INVESTIGATION OF THE ADL FOR POSSESSING SFPD FILES. AS A PRETEXT, [] WAS TOLD THAT SHE WAS BEING INTERVIEWED BECAUSE THE DOCUMENT THAT

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~~SECRET~~

^PAGE 4 65X-LA-153918 S E ~~C~~ R E T

SHE WAS SHOWN HAD BEEN FOUND IN CONNECTION WITH THE WORLD
TRADE CENTER BOMBING IN NEW YORK, AND THAT THE FBI WAS
ATTEMPTING TO DETERMINE HOW THE DOCUMENT FOUND ITS WAY TO A
MIDDLE EASTERN TERRORIST GROUP.

[] COULD PROVIDE NO FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING
HOW THE ADL RECEIVED THE NOI DOCUMENT. [] APPEARED TO
BE FORTHRIGHT AND COOPERATIVE IN HER RESPONSES CONCERNING THE
DOCUMENT. [] INDICATED HER DESIRE TO ASSIST IN THIS
MATTER, BUT COULD NOT RECALL ANY FURTHER INFORMATION
CONCERNING THE DOCUMENT. [] NOTED THAT ADL REGIONAL
DIRECTOR DAVID LEHRER MIGHT BE ABLE TO PROVIDE MORE SPECIFIC
INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DOCUMENT.

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~~C-BY 9933, DECL ON OADR~~

BT

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 03-26-2013
 CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22
 REASON: 1.4 (c)
 DECLASSIFY ON: 03-26-2038

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☒ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

~~SECRET~~ (U)

Date 3/18/93

1 TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-153918)

2 FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

3 SUBJECT : UNSUBS; UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE
 4 ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF
 5 BUREAU CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
 6 ESP-X
 7 OO:LA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE

8 All markings, notations, and items of information
 9 contained in this communication are classified "~~Secret~~". (U)

10 Retelcall, ASAC EDWARD J. APPEL with ASAC EDWARD J.
 11 CURRAN, 3/17/93.

12 As conveyed in retelcall, ASAC APPEL received a
 13 telephone call from [redacted] Attorney, Anti-Defamation
 14 League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, (202) 857-6154. ASAC APPEL had
 15 previously spoken with Mr. [redacted] about interviews of ADL
 16 employees on the East Coast in connection with the [redacted]

17 [redacted] criminal and FCI cases [redacted]
 18 [redacted] is a former AUSA now in private practice.

19 [redacted] advised that [redacted] former employee
 20 of the ADL office in Los Angeles, related that she has just
 21 been interviewed by the FBI, namely SA (FNU) [redacted] of the Los

~~SECRET~~ (U)

Classified by G-3
 Declassify on OADR

2 - Los Angeles
 2 - San Francisco
 EJA/djr
 (4)

1-FILE COPY
 1-AGENT COPY

65X-LA-153918-6

SEARCHED	SERIALIZED
INDEXED	FILED
MAR 21 1993	
FBI-LOS ANGELES	

~~SECRET~~ (U)Approved: H/A

Transmitted

(Number) (Time)

Per

b1
 b3
 b6
 b7C

~~SECRET~~(U)

65X-LA-153918
EJA/djr

Angeles Office. She was advised that she was one [] of several sought to see which was formerly with ADL. She was asked if she knew about a Nation of Islam (NOI) document which has arisen in connection with the World Trade Center bombing in New York. According to [] had handled a NOI document when she worked for the Los Angeles ADL office, but she did not recall the document nor where it came from. She did note the names of two officers with LAPD and Sheriff's Office, [] and [] (ph), who were supposedly on the Terrorism Task Force of FBI and local LA authorities.

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As recounted by ASAC APPEL to ASAC CURRAN, the ADL is remaining in contact with ASAC APPEL through their attorneys, ostensibly in an attempt to correct the problems exposed by the [] case. It has been noted that ADL has not been entirely candid or helpful up until now. However, [] indicated that he had done an extensive review of ADL documents and had found none which were of concern to the FBI other than those already provided. He also said that ADL commissioned [] to formulate changes in the ADL's information collection function to make sure that all laws and proprieties are maintained.

It should be noted that San Francisco has specifically looked for any evidence of classified information passing from the FBI to the ADL or other unauthorized recipients. Until now, no such evidence has been found.

~~SECRET~~(U)

Memorandum

DATE: 03-28-2013
CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22
REASON: 1.4 (c)
DECLASSIFY ON: 03-28-2038



~~SECRET~~ (U)

To : SAC, LOS ANGELES* (65X-LA-153918) (P) Date 3/22/93

From : TIS [redacted]

b6
b7C

Subject: UNSUBS, UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION
LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED
INFORMATION

ESP - X

OO: LA

11-30-94
Classified by SP10-BTG/um
Declassify on: OADR

This communication is classified "~~SECRET~~" in its entirety.

On 3/4/93, SA [redacted] approached author with an unidentified, undated and unmarked document relating to the Nation of Islam (NOI), which was found outside of the FBI. SA [redacted] tasked author to find out 1), if the document was originated by the FBI and 2), if so, where it came from. The document mentioned is a 34 page summary of NOI activity which includes a recommendation that a full domestic investigation be opened on the NOI. A notable feature of this summary is the fact that all source symbols had been blackened over. Also included were two pages of a summary of activities relating to the African National Congress (ANC). The two pages relating to the ANC appeared unrelated to the rest of the NOI document. An extensive search of FOIMS and the Terrorist Information System (TIS) ensued with the following results:

Handwritten circled 'X' with a checkmark.

A FOIMS check of Los Angeles investigated NOI related cases and a subsequent review of pertinent files was negative regarding the unidentified document. A TIS search was then conducted of every name listed in the document in order to determine if a pattern existed linking the names in the document to any possible files bureau-wide. Two files, 199D-IP-538 and 100A-CG-57011, were found to be linked to almost every name listed in the unidentified document.

① - 65X-LA-153918

(U) 1 - [redacted] 247A-9 [redacted]

MAD/mad
(2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CLASSIFIED BY: 9966
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

65X-LA-153918-7

~~SECRET~~ (U)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 22 1993	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

INDEXED - RETAIN
TO ROTA

~~SECRET~~

(S) On 3/4/93, author placed a telephone call to the FBI Indianapolis TIS analyst and asked that [redacted] (S) [redacted] be reviewed to see if a copy of the unidentified document in the possession of FBI Los Angeles could be found in the Indianapolis file. A unique social security number located in the unidentified document was traced to a specific serial in 199D-IP-538 and this information was passed to the Indianapolis analyst. Using the above information, FBI Indianapolis discovered a 37 page summary of NOI activity in 199D-IP-538 which appeared to be identical to the document in the possession of Los Angeles. Numerous paragraphs listed in the Indianapolis serial matched the Los Angeles document verbatim. (S)

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(U) The Indianapolis serial included a six page Airtel cover dated 6/27/86 sent from Chicago file 199G-CG-1076 with courtesy copies listed as being forward to files 199G-CG-877 and 199G-CG-1488 as well as 5 copies to the Bureau and two each to Alexandria, Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, New York and Philadelphia. This Airtel was classified ~~SECRET~~ in its entirety. Attached to the Airtel was the 37 page compendium similar in structure to the document in the possession of FBI Los Angeles. Like the Los Angeles document, this compendium (dated 2/24/86) was not classified. The Indianapolis title sheet, printed on a standard FBI letterhead possessed no markings other than an FBI disclaimer regarding the fact that its contents contained neither the recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. The source symbols in the Indianapolis document were not blackened over. (S)

(U) A discrepancy noted by SA [redacted] found that the date listed on the Indianapolis document was inconsistent with that of an activity mentioned on the contents page of the Los Angeles held document. It then became apparent that the Indianapolis document was not an exact copy of the document possessed by Los Angeles, but rather the predecessor to a follow-up report authored with the aid of that serial. The document in the possession of Los Angeles is in fact an updated version of the Chicago generated summary located in the Indianapolis file. Indianapolis then reviewed 199D-IP-538 for a copy of the updated version with negative results. (S)

On 3/4/93, FBI Chicago was called with a request to review [199G-CG-1076] for the original document sent to FBI Indianapolis as well as its successor report matching the copy (S)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

held by Los Angeles. A quick review of the file by FBI Chicago met with negative results. Later in the afternoon of 3/4/93 a meeting was held between Los Angeles ASAC Edward J. Curran, SA [redacted] SA [redacted] and author to discuss the progress made in resolving the matter of the document obtained by FBI Los Angeles. It was decided, among other things, that FBI Indianapolis be requested to facsimile a copy of their document to Los Angeles for review. (S)

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On 3/5/93, author telephoned the TIS analyst at FBI Indianapolis and requested that the 02/24/86 dated document and its attached 6/27/86 airtel be sent via secure facsimile to the FBI Los Angeles office. On that date, FBI Los Angeles received a facsimile copy of the Airtel and summary document. A review of that document indicates that it is FBI generated and is the document from which the one discovered outside of the FBI was originally derived and subsequently modified. The format and contents are identical, with the exception of the updated information.

After discovering that two copies of the document which were sent to [199D-IP-538] were also sent to Los Angeles, a search of all Los Angeles files relating to Louis Farrakhan ensued. Among those files searched was 100A-LA-87495, code name "FARCON", which is currently being reviewed by the Los Angeles legal unit for a Freedom Of Information Act (FOIA) matter. (Current FOIA action being taken by the Los Angeles legal unit concerning the NOI and Louis Farrakhan is the result of inquiries made by [redacted] [redacted] 190-LA-122258, and [redacted] 190-LA-143048.) The "FARCON" file contained both copies of the first generation NOI summary document also located in [199D-IP-538] dated 2/24/86 as serial 5) which were sent to Los Angeles from Chicago.

Two copies of the second generation document (the one identical to the document located outside the FBI) dated 1/14/88 as serial 57 were also found in "FARCON". It should be noted that unlike the copy found outside of the FBI, these serials did not have the source symbols blackened over. In addition to these two summary documents, a subsequent or third generation of the document dated 8/1/88 as serial 90 was also found in the "FARCON" file.

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~ (U)

In conclusion, it is apparent that the NOI document located outside of the FBI is indeed an FBI originated work which was authored by the Chicago Division. Both copies of the document sent to the Los Angeles Division are currently in the "FARCON" file, and unlike the copy found outside the FBI, the source symbols are not blackened over. No information relating to the location of the original ANC related document could be found during an [Intelligence Information System (IIS)] or TIS search.

(U) It is opined that the original copies of the discovered document might be found in either file 199G-CG-1076, 199G-CG-877, 199G-CG-1488, or 100A-CG-57011. Further more it is opined that there is a possibility that this document may have been released to individuals or groups under the FOIA or that it was released, officially or otherwise, to agencies outside of the FBI.

~~SECRET~~ (U)

Memorandum

(Rev. 1/92)

SECRET

To : SAC, LOS ANGELES

Date 3/24/93

(U) From : SA 11-30-94
Classified by SP12BDBW
Declassify on: OADR

Squad FCI-3

b6
b7cSubject: STATISTICAL ACCOMPLISHMENT CLAIMED,
Title of case → UNSUBS;ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION

LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED INFORMATION;

ESP-X
LA File 65X-LA-153918

Bufile

This communication is classified "~~SECRET~~" in its
entirety.

(U) All statistical accomplishments being claimed must be documented to a specific serial in a substantive case file. When claiming a statistical accomplishment complete the bottom portion of this form, providing file number, alpha character and serial for stats claimed in Part I, and file number and alpha only, for stats claimed in Part II. One copy of this memorandum will be serialized in the substantive case file, a second copy will be directed to file 66F-8298, maintained by squad FCI-5.

PART I

(a) IO DESIGNATED	(i) DEFECTION INDUCED
(b) AGENT DESIGNATED	(j) NEUTRALIZATION
(U) (c) POSITIVE INTELLIGENCE REPORTED	(k) CONVICTION
(d) VERIFICATION OF IO ACTIVITY	(l) ARREST
(e) VERIFICATION OF AGENT ACTIVITY	(m) PNG TYPE ACTION
(f) TARGET IDENTIFIED	(n) ECONOMIC LOSS PREVENTED
(g) TECHNIQUE IDENTIFIED	(o) HOIS FUNDS OBTAINED
(h) TRADE CRAFT OBTAINED	

2 - Los Angeles

(1) - Case File (65X-LA-153918)

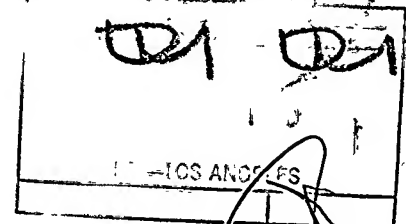
(1) - 66F-8298

WJH:yc

(2)

(U) [-2030-972(G)] (S)

ASSET STATISTIC:

☐ Yes
☒ No
SECRET

~~SECRET~~

(U)

PART II

(1) APPROACHES FOR RIP

(2) DA's DEVELOPED

(5) DEFECTORS

(6) JOINT OPS (INITIATED OR MAINTAINED)

(8)

(11)

(12)

(13)

65X-LA-153918 Serial A, ^{7E}

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

MAR 24 6 35 PM '93

0016 MRI 01750

RR FBILA FBISF

DE RUCNFB #0146 0840152

ZNY SSSSS

R 242116Z MAR 93

FM DIRECTOR FBI

TO FBI LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-153918) (P)/ROUTINE/

FBI SAN FRANCISCO/ROUTINE/

BT

~~SECRET~~

CITE: //0514//

PASS: SA [REDACTED] FBI LOS ANGELES AND SA [REDACTED] FBI SAN FRANCISCO.

SUBJECT: UNSUBS; UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED INFORMATION; ESP-X; OO: LA.

THIS COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED ~~SECRET~~ IN ITS ENTIRETY.

(U)

RE LOS ANGELES TELETYPE TO THE BUREAU, DATED MARCH 16, 1993.

(U)

THIS COMMUNICATION CONFIRMS THAT [REDACTED] IS (S)

APR 98 1548
CLASSIFIED BY SP3/B/SM
REASON: 1.5
DECLASSIFY ON: X

11/4/99

~~SECRET~~

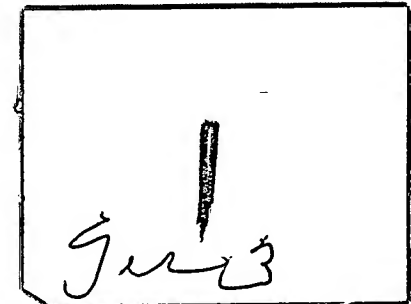
1-FILE COPY

1-AGENT COPY

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

11-30-94
Classified by SP12 BTJ/um
Declassify on: OADR



A-set
for 11/15/94
900mg
L. [unclear]
Sub [unclear]
FBI [unclear]
(X)
P

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 3/13/02

SP3/B/AF 3/1/02
65X-10-153918-10

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 24 1993	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

PAGE TWO DE RUCNEB 0146 ~~SECRET~~

AUTHORIZED FOR THIS MATTER IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ATTORNEY
GENERAL GUIDELINES (AGG) FOR FBI FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION
AND FOREIGN COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INVESTIGATIONS, SECTION III C.
LOS ANGELES SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE ANNUAL LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM
(LHM) IS SUBMITTED TO FBIHQ IN A TIMELY MANNER, IN ACCORDANCE
WITH SECTION IX C. OF THE AGG. FBIHQ WILL PREPARE THE REQUIRED
90-DAY LHM FOR SUBMISSION TO THE OFFICE OF INTELLIGENCE POLICY
(U) AND REVIEW. ~~(S)~~

~~C BY G 3, DECL OADR.~~

BT

#0146

NNNN

~~SECRET~~

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☒ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS~~SECRET~~

Date 3/15/93

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

1 TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: SSA [redacted] [CI-2E]) (U) (S) (P)

2 FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (S) [redacted] (P)

3 SUBJECT : [redacted] (S) (P)

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Classified by SP-6 BTJ/bum
Declassify on: OADR

This entire communication is classified "Secret." (U)

8 (S) [redacted] (S)

9 Re SF teletype dated 2/27/93 (no copy to Los Angeles). Also re 3/12/93 telephone call from SA [redacted] Los Angeles Division, to SA [redacted] San Francisco Division.

12 Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of an FD-302 regarding one [redacted] dated 3/3/93.

13 Enclosed for Los Angeles are one copy each of the following documents:

15 1) FD-302 regarding one IRWIN J. SUALL, dated 1/26/93.

16 2) FD-302 regarding [redacted] dated 3/3/93.

18 2 - Bureau (Enc. 2)
19 ② - Los Angeles (Enc. 3)
20 2 - San Francisco
JAM/lal
21 (6)

Classified By: G-3 (U)
Declassify on: OADR
~~Secret~~

Approved: _____

Transmitted _____

Per _____

(Number) (Time)

~~SECRET~~

Serial 10

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b6
b7C

5117

~~SECRET~~ (U)

3) SF LHM regarding the subject of this matter, dated 2/17/93.

As Los Angeles is aware, the enclosed FD-302 regarding [] represents the results of an interview conducted in Los Angeles by San Francisco SA's [] and [] on 3/3/93.

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Referenced teletype responded to a request for information from the Bureau concerning whether there had been any compromise of FBI information detected by San Francisco's investigation. San Francisco responded that among items which have been determined to have been in the possession of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), and which may have been passed to the South African National Intelligence Service by the subject of this matter, was a multi-page report concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI). The version of that report found to have been in the possession of the ADL contained numerous blacked-out portions, was missing its cover page, and did not otherwise clearly indicate the author or originating agency. Nevertheless, San Francisco indicated that due to the nature and style of the document, San Francisco believed it could have been produced by the FBI.

In his interview on 3/3/93, former ADL employee [] advised he is familiar with the NOI document in question, and that it is his belief it is an FBI document. [] stated he, too, had never seen the cover page of the document, however, when he first saw the document at the Los Angeles ADL office, sometime after March, 1989, it was attached to a cover memo from then-ADL employee []. This cover memo indicated the ADL had received the NOI document from an "official friend." [] identified that term as ADL parlance for a law enforcement source. [] further advised that the version of the NOI document he first saw had the blacked-out portions, however, it was not a photocopied version; i.e. the blacked-out portions had been blacked-out with ink. [] indicated he was thus able to hold the document up to a light and read through the ink. He saw references to FBI sources in some of the blacked-out areas. This caused him to believe the NOI document was produced by the FBI.

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~ (U)

In referenced telephone call, San Francisco was advised that Los Angeles had located a copy of the questioned NOI document in its files. Los Angeles indicated its version was complete, did not have any portions blacked-out, and was definitely an FBI document. San Francisco was advised that the version of the NOI document which was in the possession of the ADL appears to be identical to the version in Los Angeles' files, with the exception of the missing cover page and the blacked-out portions. San Francisco was further advised it appeared the document was originally prepared by the Chicago Division.

The above is provided so that the Bureau may be aware, given San Francisco's assessment as contained in referenced teletype, of the determination that the NOI document in question is definitely a product of the FBI. Investigation remains to be conducted to determine exactly how the document came to be in the possession of the ADL.

The Bureau's attention is also directed to portions of the enclosed FD-302 in which [] discusses relations between the Los Angeles ADL office and the Israeli Government. In referenced teletype, San Francisco noted that the popular perception among persons interested in captioned matter is that information collection by the ADL is equivalent to information collection by Israeli Intelligence. In referenced teletype San Francisco indicated that, whether or not this is true, San Francisco had not developed any information to support this view.

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In his 3/3/93 interview [] provided confirmation of direct, regular contacts between employees of the ADL and Israeli officials. [] indicated that such officials, from the local Israeli Consulate, periodically visited the Los Angeles ADL office to brief ADL employees on current events in Israel. [] also said the ADL was concerned about public opinion regarding relations between Israel and South Africa, and that some of the ADL's activities, such as the monitoring of anti-apartheid activities in the United States, were at least in part driven by this concern.

[] also indicated there is no prohibition against ADL employees sharing information with the Israeli Government concerning any data the ADL may collect. This is particularly noteworthy given recent media reporting and public outcry in the

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~ (U)

United States over the arrest in Israel of two Arab-Americans from Chicago, [redacted] name was found in the many documents seized from the subject of this matter, fueling public belief that the ADL provides the Israeli Government with information which is then used against U.S. persons. [redacted] stated he had himself once provided directly to the Israeli Government information concerning a person who was traveling from the U.S. to Israel. [redacted] identified that person as [redacted] stated that in 1992 he learned that [redacted] whom [redacted] understood to be a Los Angeles resident and member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, would be traveling from San Francisco to Haifa, Israel. [redacted] believed this information would be of interest to the Israeli Government, so [redacted] telephoned the Los Angeles Israeli Consulate to advise them of [redacted] travel. The Israeli Consulate was very interested, going so far as to call [redacted] back to go over his information again.

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The above was the only example [redacted] said he was aware of concerning ADL information being directly provided to the Israeli Government. Given, however, the sensitivity of that issue among certain members of Congress and the public, San Francisco believes it should be brought to the Bureau's attention.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES DIVISION

Los Angeles is requested to forward to San Francisco a "clean" copy of the above NOI document, as it appears in Los Angeles' files, along with any pertinent information concerning that document's origin and dissemination.

~~SECRET~~ (U)

DATE: 03-27-2013
CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22
REASON: 1.4 (c)
DECLASSIFY ON: 03-27-2038

~~SECRET~~ (U)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Suspect in cop spy case tells his story

Tom Gerard says he didn't sell S.F. police secrets, calls FBI probe a big 'witch hunt'

By Phil Bronstein
EXAMINER EXECUTIVE EDITOR
COPYRIGHT © 1993, THE HEARST CORPORATION

Tom Gerard, the former San Francisco police officer and CIA agent accused of selling law enforcement secrets to foreign powers, says he's the target of "the biggest witch hunt and wild goose chase I've ever seen."

The investigation originated with the FBI and now involves "friends and guys I've worked with (in the SFPD) for 25 years," Gerard said in an exclusive, sometimes tearful, interview with The Examiner from his hideaway in the Philippines.

"The sons of bitches are trying to put me in prison for the rest of my life," he said. "That's why I decided to leave the country. As long as I sit here, they can't get me."

Gerard says he believes that the FBI's loss of a file on the Black Muslim organization may be motivating the case against him, but that he is innocent of any crime involving the sale of information.

Telephone wiretaps may show him talking about sharing police data with informants, investigators or even foreign consulates, Gerard admits. Still, he says, he has only done what he thought appropriate for a police officer.

Other factors have forced him into the unaccustomed role as chief suspect — and out of the country, he says.

"What they're (the FBI) thinking is they've got someone inside their own organization" giving out files, charged Gerard, who suddenly fled to the Philippines and turned in his retirement papers at age 50 after being questioned by the FBI.

"They really took me on too hard in the beginning," the obviously agitated ex-officer said. "First thing they said right out of their mouth is you better be prepared for a lifestyle change unless you cooperate with us, and we're

talking 10 or 15 years."

"I'm absolutely terrified," Gerard said. "These guys have decided for whatever reason that I'm the bad guy, the bogey man."

The FBI has confirmed it is investigating Gerard but declined to comment on the case.

Gerard fled to Palawan, a remote island in the central Philippines, following his abrupt retire-

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

Indexing:

San Francisco

3-8-95
Classified by SP2B J6/m
Declassify on: OADR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

65X-CA-153918-41

SEARCHED	SERIALIZED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 01 1993	
FBI-LOS ANGELES	

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

ment in November from the San Francisco Police Department. He left his wife and child at the family's Sausalito houseboat. There is no extradition treaty between the United States and the Philippines.

The Massachusetts-born Gerard had served in the department for almost a quarter century — with a three-year hiatus to serve as a contract CIA employee in Central America.

The Examiner reported last Friday that the FBI and San Francisco authorities believed Gerard had made thousands of dollars selling secret law enforcement information to foreign agents.

Israel and South Africa have been mentioned by knowledgeable sources as possible recipients of that information.

As an inspector in the now-defunct SFPD intelligence unit, Gerard investigated and maintained files on Arab American organizations, right-wing groups and other political activists. As part of that process, Gerard says, he established ongoing contact with groups and individuals who also gathered such information.

The investigation has raised questions about intelligence-gathering both by law enforcement agencies and private organizations. Details of the case — even just Gerard's version of events — provide a rare glimpse into the shrouded and interlocking world of informants, cops, foreign governments, the watched and the watchers.

Cop and informant

A key to the case, Gerard believes, is a shadowy, self-styled private investigator named Roy Bullock, whom he introduced to the FBI. Gerard says Bullock was an informant and friend with whom he shared law enforcement information.

In 1985, when Gerard rejoined the SFPD after his CIA employment and moved into the intelligence unit, he met Bullock during a

visit to the local offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, he says.

Bullock was a paid investigator for the ADL, says Gerard, and the two men shared a professional interest in gathering intelligence on

right-wing extremists and Arab American groups, particularly those they thought had ties to Middle East Palestinian organizations the U.S. government had characterized as "terrorist."

"We sat there one morning with everyone in the (ADL) office, shook hands and made friends," Gerard said.

Bullock — called "Cal" by Gerard, a short version of his nickname "Calzone" — proved his value soon after in the case of Coy Ray Phelps, a deranged neo-Nazi suspected of bombing synagogues and black studies classrooms.

Phelps was caught, Gerard said, because of "a file that came from Cal. That's how we got the SOB (Phelps). Not from any police or FBI work but from Cal. The guy is really dynamite."

Gerard began cooperating with Bullock and exchanging information because "the guy had no (criminal) record. It's like we're talking to someone in the neighborhood community watch organization." The information, Gerard said he assumed, was for the ADL files.

Bullock declined to comment.

When local authorities searched Gerard's houseboat Dec. 10, and served a search warrant for Bullock's residence, they also obtained warrants for the San Francisco and Los Angeles offices of the ADL, looking for law enforcement material. Some police data was found at the ADL, according to sources familiar with the case. But an attorney for the ADL said the organization had been told that it was not a target or subject of the investigation. He also said the ADL had submitted voluntarily to the search and that the warrants had not been served. He declined to say if Bullock was an ADL informant.

The South African connection

Gerard's explanation of any possible South African connection involves a 1986 seminar in Las Vegas that Bullock uncovered.

"This looked like a legitimate investment seminar," Gerard said.

"The guest speaker was going to be the South African consul general (in Los Angeles). But we found out the people behind it were a bunch of right-wingers. Cal tells me. I in turn get hold of the people at the consulate and warn them (that) this would probably be an embarrassment to the consul general if he was to appear. That's it."

Gerard says all he received for what he calls "a (police) dignitary protection function" was a book of color photos from South Africa and a consular thank-you note.

But Gerard concedes that he used an SFPD undercover name and mailbox to communicate with the South Africans.

"We just couldn't do it up front and legally because the Board of Supervisors said we couldn't have any contact with the South Africans," he said.

The FBI, which monitors foreign consulates, clearly knew about the contact, Gerard says. On a visit to the San Francisco FBI offices a few years later, agents there kidded him about his "funny (undercover) name making it on the National Security Index."

After the current investigation began and before he left the country, Gerard says, he spoke with Bullock. "Cal" had apparently maintained contacts with the South Africans, according to Gerard.

"Cal told me he had told the FBI guys that he'd met with the South Africans a year ago and offered to identify photographs for them," possibly of Black Muslim activists or right-wing "skinheads," Gerard said.

Bullock "is a private civilian," Gerard said. "He can meet with anyone he wants."

Gerard also says Bullock had asked him to run identification

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checks on three names, two of them skinheads and the third a possible Black Muslim. All three, according to Gerard, were described by Bullock as possibly posing threats. At least in one case, the Los Angeles ADL office was a potential target, Gerard says.

Through his own contacts, Gerard says, he's heard that an FBI file on Black Muslims may have been sold to South Africans.

Gerard believes the telephone wiretap information obtained by the FBI may include his own conversations with Bullock about giving "Cal" the data on the Black Muslim and/or the skinheads.

"There's nothing really sinister about talking to an informant about information like that," Gerard said. "I admitted from day one that I did that. But they've got me on a wire talking like that."

The FBI, Gerard speculates, was "ballistic" about losing a file from their offices and assumed the SFPD intelligence specialist was involved.

"I could go to the FBI office and talk to people there on occasion," he said. "The logical assumption would be that somehow the report came from me because I have that access. That's what they're ballistic about. But it never happened. I just never did that."

A visit from the feds

The case took a sharp turn when FBI agents visited Gerard at the Hall of Justice late last year. The ex-CIA agent and cop did not react well to what he says were threats of jail.

"It got very nasty in the beginning," he said. "Things didn't go very far. I said, 'I've got nothing to say.'"

The agents "wanted to know what I did in the CIA," he said. "I told them, 'If you've got a big internal investigation going on, you can just pick up the phone and talk to the CIA. Don't ask me, ask them.'"

Gerard also knew that agents were interviewing his friends and colleagues. "They wanted to know things like my foreign bank accounts. What foreign bank ac-

counts? I have one bank account (in the Philippines) with \$1,000 in it. I don't have two pennies to rub together."

Search warrant documents show that Gerard's impounded home computer equipment was inexpensive, and his attorney, former local and federal prosecutor James Lassart, has only been promised payment for one hour of consultation — that to come from the Police Officer's Association —

sources familiar with the case told The Examiner.

The FBI also "asked about my mistresses," Gerard said. "What mistresses? They wanted to know about gun-running on Philippines Airlines. What gun-running? I worked for Philippine Airlines as a security guy."

For years, Gerard supplemented his SFPD salary with moonlighting stints providing security to Philippine Airlines at San Francisco International Airport. Through that job, he met Philippine officials and took an annual vacation in the Philippines.

The investigation reached a low point, according to Gerard, when agents asked his friends about an ADL-sponsored trip to Israel he went on last year.

"My friend said that when I went to Israel," he said, "I was really in touch with Masada (an ancient fortress in Israel where Jewish zealots committed mass suicide in 72 A.D. rather than be captured by a much larger Roman force)."

"(The agents said) 'Oh! Mossad! He met with Israeli intelligence?' My friend tried to tell them, no, it was Masada."

Hearing about a South African immigrant's Fresno ranch, where Gerard and friends would go hunting, "they hopped in a car, code 3, and went to interview this poor guy," Gerard said.

The FBI "kept saying they've got me dirty doing something with the South Africans," Gerard said.

"I kept saying no. I've run this

thing through my mind 100 times, trying to think who did I meet with, who did I talk to. I'm liable to have met with somebody and the guy could have been a South African and I didn't know it. But contrary to what they say, there's no money involved in this."

The search warrant affidavit, which must state details of the case against Gerard, was sealed by court order.

Introducing Bullock to FBI

There are numerous ironies in this case, Gerard says, other than just a cop on the lam from the law.

When the SFPD intelligence unit closed down, Gerard says, he took Bullock to the local FBI office. "We sat down, I turned his file over to them, I introduced them, I told (the FBI) the things we were working on, the things we had going and so forth," he said. "And they started using (Bullock) and they were paying him."

When Bullock called Gerard for assistance with information after that, "I would gladly assist him."

After all, Gerard said, "I took the informant (Bullock) to them and turned the informant over to them."

The FBI agent Gerard says he dealt with refused to comment.

Gerard says he believes the FBI was unable to get enough evidence against him to justify a search warrant from a federal judge, so the case was turned over to the San Francisco district attorney's office.

"They didn't have enough to serve a warrant on my house, so they put the guys I worked with and my friends for 25 years up to doing it," Gerard said.

The warrant was served and the search done by San Francisco police and district attorney's investigators.

"The FBI sold the locals a bill of goods," Gerard contended. "(They told) the chief of police that Tom Gerard is John Dillinger."

Gerard speculates that the investigation may also be fueled by historic friction between the FBI and CIA, or even a heated argu-

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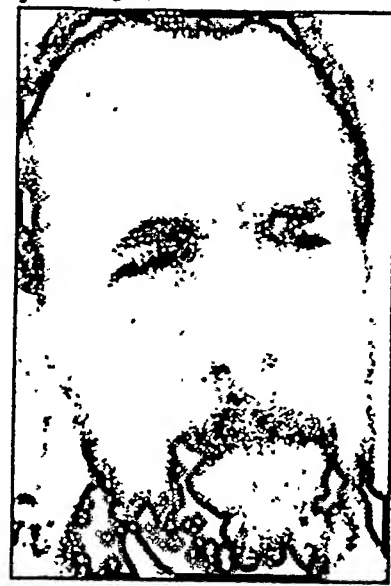
ment several years ago between an FBI official and an executive of the ADL's national office.

But whether it is evidence or enmity, Gerard says, he's convinced the FBI has decided to "barbecue" him.

In conversations with friends over the years, Gerard has spoken of retiring in the Philippines. His frequent hosts on his annual vacations include some of the country's more powerful politicians.

But the life of a fugitive is not what he had in mind.

"It was the hardest couple of weeks here before Christmas, being here by myself," Gerard said from the Philippines, his voice breaking. "My life, my family, everything is just hanging in the balance here."



Tom Gerard, former S.F. cop and CIA agent, fled to the Philippines.

CAST OF CHARACTERS

Tom Gerard



A well-regarded policeman, he spent three years as a CIA bomb expert in Central America, then returned to the San Francisco Police Department and was assigned to the intelligence unit. Gerard, 50, retired and left the country in November after being targeted for investigation by the FBI.

Roy Bullock

A 58-year old San Francisco art dealer, he also worked as a paid undercover informant for the FBI and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, according to Gerard.

Anti-Defamation League



Founded 80 years ago to fight anti-Semitism, the arm of B'nai B'rith has investigated hate groups from neo-Nazi skinheads to the Ku Klux Klan. Sources said the group had paid Roy Bullock to investigate anti-Semitic groups.

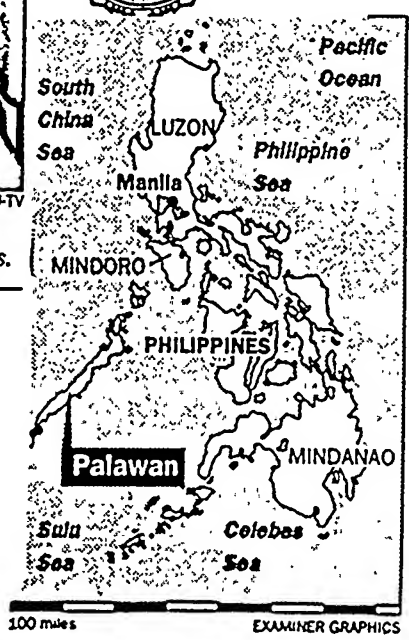
San Francisco police intelligence unit

Formed to work with foreign consulates and to investigate complex crimes, was a lightning rod for criticism from civil libertarians, who said it violated civil rights laws by targeting groups that protested but committed no crimes. The unit was ordered disbanded in 1991 by then-Chief Frank Jordan.

Federal Bureau of Investigation



The top U.S. law enforcement agency is responsible for investigating all federal crimes, including espionage. Gerard said the FBI had swapped information with him and used Bullock as an informant. The bureau is now investigating the pair.



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ROUTING SLIP

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For the file

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EDWARD J. CURRAN
ASAC DIVISION SIX

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FOR INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU, THE FOLLOWING WAS RECEIVED

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FBI - LOS ANGELES	

PAGE TWO DE FBISF 0013 ~~SECRET~~ (U)

BY SAN FRANCISCO, FROM INSPECTOR [REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO
POLICE DEPARTMENT (SFPD), ON MARCH 29, 1993.

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SFPD HAS RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM A RELIABLE SOURCE THAT TWO PERSONS, DESCRIBED AS "ISRAELI GENERALS," ARE IN, OR ARE ABOUT TO TRAVEL TO, WASHINGTON, D.C., IN REGARD TO CAPTIONED MATTERS. THE PURPOSE OF THEIR TRAVEL IS TO TRY TO VISIT THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, TO PRESS FOR AN END TO THE FBI'S INVESTIGATIONS CONCERNING [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ACCORDING TO THE SFPD, THE FBI'S INVESTIGATIONS OF THESE MATTERS ARE CAUSING A GREAT DEAL OF INTERFERENCE IN THE U.S. ACTIVITIES OF THE ANTI-DEFAHAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH (ADL), AND SO ISRAEL IS SEEKING TO INTERCEDE ON THE ADL'S BEHALF.

SFPD DESCRIBED THE TWO ISRAELI GENERALS AS (FNU) [REDACTED] AND (FNU) [REDACTED] GENERAL. [REDACTED] IS DESCRIBED AS [REDACTED] [REDACTED] AT THE ISRAELI CONSULATE IN LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA. BOTH ARE DESCRIBED AS BEING CURRENTLY ASSOCIATED WITH A JOINT U.S.-ISRAELI EFFORT CALLED B.I.R.D., FOR BILATERAL ISRAELI RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. SAN FRANCISCO INDICES AND TIS NEGATIVE ON [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

(U) SAN FRANCISCO VIEWS THE ABOVE INFORMATION AS FURTHER ~~(S)~~

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PAGE THREE DE FBISF 0013 ~~SECRET~~(U)

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(S) [REDACTED]
(S) INVESTIGATION (65X-LA-153918) [REDACTED]
(S) [REDACTED] (S)

LEAD

LOS ANGELES DIVISION

AT LOS ANGELES:

(S) [REDACTED]
THE BUREAU IS REQUESTED TO KEEP SAN FRANCISCO APPRISED OF
DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING THE ABOVE.

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- 1 -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 3/8/93

On March 2, 1993 Inspector [] San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), was contacted at his place of employment, 850 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California, by the writer. The writer's name and official identity are known to Inspector [] as a result of previous contacts.

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Inspector [] provided to the writer a copy of an audio tape recording of an interview of [] which Inspector [] and SFPD Inspector [] had done on January 28, 1993. Also present during that interview was [] attorney []. A transcript of the recording, prepared by the writer, is attached.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-1-94 BY SP106126

Investigation on 3/2/93 at San Francisco, California File # 264B-SF-100978

by SA [] Date dictated 3/3/93

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Serial 13

The following is a transcript of an interview of [redacted]
[redacted], which was conducted on January 28, 1993 by
Sergeants [redacted] and [redacted] of the San
Francisco, California, Police Department. Also present was
attorney [redacted] representing [redacted]

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Okay, the date is 1/28/93. The time is 11:18 a.m.
Right now we're in Orange, California at the law,
law offices of [redacted] Uh, present is Mr.
[redacted] and his client [redacted] I am Sergeant
[redacted] from the San Francisco Police Department,
and with me is Sergeant [redacted] also of the
San Francisco Police Department. Uh, Mr. [redacted] has
graciously, uh, consented to an interview of him,
and we have assured Mr. [redacted] that he is not the focus
of our investigation at this time, uh, and any statement
he makes, uh, which is being tape recorded, uh, will not
be used against you in any criminal proceeding brought by
the San Francisco Police Department or the San Francisco
District Attorney's Office. Copies of this tape will be
provided to Mr. [redacted] uh, for his review, uh, after.
Anything I left out there?

Ah, no.

Okay.

Go right ahead.

All right. [redacted] what I'd like to, uh, I think you
pretty much have a sense of, uh, by reading the newspaper,
what this, uh, investigation is focusing on, and I'd like
to ask you some questions about your relationship with the
ADL and with [redacted] and, uh, some offshoots of, of,
those things, if it's all right. Uh, first of all I'd
like to talk about the, uh, Anti-Defamation League. When
did you first start working for them?

I started working for the Anti-Defamation League in March
of 1989. The end of March.

And when....

Around the twenty-fifth, or something.

When did you finish with them?

October 9, 1992.

And what was your, uh, job in those, uh, three, three and a half years, or so?

My position was called Fact Finding Librarian. Uh, my job was basically to, uh, maintain the file room, and to monitor the, the activities of extremist groups, on the West Coast.

Particularly in Southern California or the whole West Coast?

Particularly in Southern California, although the Los Angeles office is kind of like the hub for the West Coast, uh, we get copies of all the memos from Denver, Phoenix, San Francisco, Seattle, but most particularly, Southern California.

Okay. By "monitor extremist groups," what did that entail?

That entailed, uh, we had, um, a private mail drop, uh, we received, uh, uh, literature of a lot of the extremist groups. Uh, on occasion, going to meetings, um...

Is that an undercover-type capacity?

Yeah. Um, monitoring the various, uh, "hate lines," is it, of groups. That sort of thing.

Now this was your, part of your function for the entire three and a half years?

Yes.

Okay. Did anybody else in your office assist you in this function?

Well, I, uh, my supervisor, my first supervisor was [redacted] the predecessor of [redacted] Then [redacted] but, basically I was on my own. Uh, it, I, I did the job on my own. Uh, on occasion, you know, they would tell me, uh, cover such-and-such a meeting, uh...

Who, who's "they?"

Uh, [redacted]

Okay, um....

On occasion DAVID LEHRER, but he really wasn't that much

into it.

Okay, so it was...

Uh...

[redacted] she's an attorney?

Yeah. She's a....

For the ADL?

Yes. Her position's called Western States Counsel.

Okay.

Uh, but pretty much I, I was on my own as, you know, as long as I maintained, uh, the files, and kept them up to date, and filed the, the memos and articles and other things, uh....

Okay. By files you mean that a, in the, pretty much the center of the office in that room that had all the file cabinets in it?

Yeah.

With, uh, news articles, and...

Yeah.

...reports and things?

A small, impressive office.

And they're under date, and subjects and, and areas, is that correct?

Yes.

Okay. And it was your job to maintain those files?

Yes.

Okay. Do they have at the ADL in L.A. a, uh, a computer system or data base...

No, they do not.

...connected to the files?

They do not.

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No. Okay.

And to my, to my knowledge they don't have, uh, it anywhere in the ADL.

Okay. Uh, did you have anything like that at home?

No, I did not.

Okay. Um, how, what was your background before the ADL? Uh, what kind of work were you doing then?

My background? Um, graduated from Cal State Northridge in 1988. Uh, went to law school, didn't like it. Dropped out after five weeks. Uh, then after several months I got the ADL position.

And when you applied for it did you know it was for the Fact Finder?

Uh, they, they explained to me what, what the job entailed. When I applied.

What, what kind of money were you making?

I started off making \$21,000 a year, and my ending salary was \$22,250 a year.

Well, was that a full-time job?

Yes.

Okay, was it more than full-time sometimes?

Uh, nine to five. Uh, but then on, on occasion when I would co-, cover meetings I would be like, you know, on my own time, at night, weekends, or what have you.

And when you covered meetings, do you, uh, prepare reports?

Yes. Memos.

Memos. Uh, were they "pinks" like the one in San Francisco, the ones in San Francisco?

Uh, originally they were, all on pinks. But then, uh, after a few months I, I got an angry call from Fact Finding Director IRWIN SUALL in New York, telling me I'm "overusing the pinks." Uh, thereafter I'd do just regular white.

Okay. And IRWIN SUALL, is he, is he the, uh, what's his title in New York.

Fact Finding Director.

For the entire ADL?

For the entire ADL, yes.

Okay. And you know him personally?

No, I don't know him. I mean, I've, I've spoken to him, in my three and a half years, maybe three times.

On the phone?

On the phone.

Okay. What about [] Do you know her?

Yes, I do.

Have you met her?

I, I, I never met her. I spoke to her on the phone.

Okay. About how many times?

Oh, just very recently, in the past, uh, few months before I left the ADL. Uh, how many times? Maybe five, six, seven times, at the most.

Okay, and what's her title?

She's also Fact Finding Director, but, uh, only for the Washington, D.C. office.

Okay. Generally, when, uh, in your job of Fact Finder was your, were your duties pretty much free-form, or were they being directed by the, uh, individuals in your office, uh, [] and, uh, []

Um, it depends. Um, most of it, most of it, it was free-form, up to me. On occasion I would get, uh, a directive from [] or her predecessor [] You know, cover such and such a meeting or make sure such and such a meeting is covered. Um, I would get inquiries from [] or, or [] or, or, the, uh, [] or the various Assistant Directors. You know, they would get a, a question from, uh, law enforcement or reporters or, um, just people, about a certain group, and they, they would ask me to, what do we have on such and such a group, and that, that sort of thing.

Okay. And did you know, uh, your, I assume he was your equivalent in San Francisco, []

[redacted] uh huh?

Yes. Yes.

And how long, uh, when did you meet him?

Uh, I met him, it must have been the summer of 1989.

What were the circumstances there?

Uh, he, he came down here. I don't know what, for, for what purpose, but he, but he visited the office. We were then on Wilshire Boulevard.

Okay.

That's when I met him for the first time.

And you guys hit it off pretty well, is that right?

Yeah.

Okay.

Yeah.

Did you keep that relationship up, uh, uh, for how long?

Um, until, until I left the ADL. Till I was fired.

And how often did you, uh, talk to [redacted] or did you see [redacted] uh, in that, in the interim?

Oh, I spoke to him on the phone, uh, for, on the average two, maybe three times a week. Sometimes more, sometimes less, depending on the, uh, level of activity that was going on, uh, but on the average, two to three times a week. Uh, he would come down, on occasion, to L.A., once every few months.

Did you ever go to San Francisco?

No.

And, to your knowledge, did, uh, [redacted] uh, have the same job as you?

Um, in some respects. Uh, his official job title I think was called, uh, Investigator, Field Investigator, and he's been doing it for thirty-odd years. Uh, I don't think

his job entailed maintaining the files in San Francisco.
I don't, I really don't know.

Okay.

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But, in that respect, not really. He didn't really have same job that I did.

I see.

Although a lot of our interests and duties, uh, overlapped, overlapped.

Okay. Now, did, were you aware of, uh, [] data base in his house?

Yes.

Yes. Okay. Uh, and how were you aware, did [] tell you?

Oh yes.

About his computer?

Uh huh.

And, uh, what is your estimation of what was in the computer, or what, what types of information was in [] computer?

Um, names of, uh, groups and individuals. I think he kept a separate list of Arab names, of individuals and groups, and then I think another one for right-wing, what he termed right-wing, uh, groups and individuals.

Did he tell you any other sub-sections?

Oh, and left-wing, although I, maybe left-wing was with Arab groups, I...

Did he tell you what left-wing was actually called?

Uh...

[] does that mean anything, to your understanding?

Could be, yeah, yeah.

Okay. And did you have, ah, ah, did you ever have, uh, reason to call up there and inquire, make inquiries on any names that [] had?

Yes.

And how often was that?

Oh, whenever, uh, like I got an inquiry from one of the Assistant Directors, or [redacted] uh, what do we have on such and such a name? And if, if I didn't have it in my own files, I would on occasion call [redacted] and say, "What, do, do you have anything on such and such a name?"

How often would that be?

On occasion. I don't know. When, whenever, whenever such a circumstance arose.

And what type of response would you get if it was positive, if he had heard of it, what would he give you from the, the name, say, uh, [redacted] who was being inquired, in, inquired about?

From [redacted]. I'd get, oh, [redacted] he's a Skinhead, and, I don't, um, Skinhead, he attended such and such a meeting, I, I, something like that.

Okay. Would he give you information about where he lives or what kind of car he drives?

Uh, if he would have it, yeah.

Would he also give you driver's license information?

If he would have that, yeah.

What about criminal history numbers, like a CII number or a, a, L.A. criminal history number, something like that?

Yeah. He would also have that.

Okay. Was that all the time, or on occasion he would throw those back, too?

Uh, it wasn't all the time, no, um....

Okay.

Mostly like date of birth, California driver's license number.

Did he ever mention, or, or I should ask first, did you ever meet [redacted]?

No, I never met [redacted] I never spoke to [redacted]

Did [redacted] ever mention him?

Yes.

Uh, in, in what context, or why would he mention him?

Um...

Who is [redacted], according to [redacted]

Uh, his friend, in the San Francisco Police Department.

Did he say where he worked?

Yeah, the San Francisco Police Department.

What, what department, or, or what area in the police department?

Uh, he, he mentioned one time, uh, I guess he was monitoring Chinese gangs, I think it was.

And that's all you knew about, uh, as far as [redacted] work?

Yeah. I, I got the impression it more personal.

To the, [redacted] and [redacted] had a...

Yeah.

...personal relationship.

A personal friendship.

Did [redacted] ever let you know that he used [redacted] for information?

He never outright said that.

Okay, uh, did he imply it in any other way?

He, uh, I, I guess the assumption would be there, but he also told me that he had other law enforcement contacts.

Okay.

And, but he never implicitly, implicitly said, "I got this information from [redacted]" or, "I'm going to ask [redacted]"

And occasionally you would call up there, uh, with a license number, or inquiry that re-, required a law enforcement, uh....

Yeah.

...."official friend" help?

Yes. Yes. Yes.

Yes. Okay. And you would call [] at his house?

Yes, at his house.

Okay. And how long would it take [] to turn the information over and get back to you?

Oh, a couple days. I think two, three days, uh, it depends. It wasn't that long.

Okay. And was it, uh, did they ever let you down, or did they ever, always give you the information you requested?

I always got the information.

And just like, uh, much like [] has, or [] had, uh, friends or law enforcement friends that would run things in the computer, did you have any down here who would help you?

Yes.

Okay. Did, uh, [] ever mention to you that he had a relationship with the FBI?

No.

Did he ever mention to you about a relationship with the, uh, Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms, or ATF?

He did mention something about ATF.

Do you remember what?

Um, not specifically. Uh, I think it had something to do with, uh, the individual who was [] in San Francisco, which he called []. And, I guess at one point [] was, uh, an ATF informant.

Okay.

He has, uh, something along, uh, so I know he, he had some kind of connection with ATF.

He was []

Yeah. Yeah. Because he got, I think, arrested again....

Is this [redacted]

Yeah. [redacted] What did he, uh, I forgot what he called himself [redacted]

How about [redacted] (phonetic)?

Yeah. Yeah.

Okay.

Yeah. Yeah. But he was pretty entertaining.

Did, uh, [redacted] mention anything about, uh, [redacted] giving either [redacted] or the ATF access to the line, or the, uh, the messages on the line?

Uh, at one, uh, short period of time, he was able to access....

Who's he?

[redacted]

Okay.

And he had the code number where, in which he was able to access, uh, the messages left on [redacted] in San Francisco.

Okay.

That he could retrieve.

Did [redacted] say how he got the messages, or how he got the code access?

No.

Okay. Did he ever tell you that [redacted] gave him the code access?

Oh I, something about [redacted] uh, he met him, he was an ATF, uh, informant, he wasn't, he met him, or he wasn't, I, I don't have specifically....

Did [redacted] ever mention that, in fact, uh, (coughs), the ATF also knew about this, uh, message interception?

Huh uh.

Never to you? Okay. Did you have, uh, informants down here in the L.A. area that you used, also?

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Yes.

Okay. Was it common practice to pay informants?

Yes.

Okay. And....

Well, this particular informant, uh, I don't know about all informants.

Okay. You talking about []?

Yeah.

Okay. And, how long was he, uh, an informant of, of yours or the ADL in, in L.A.?

Oh, good couple of years. Maybe two years. A year and a half. Something like that.

And what group was he a part of?

Uh, at one point he headed a, a Skinhead group called the American Firm, although he, it kind of dissolved, and he was pretty much on his own.

Does that word, American Firm, mean, mean anything now, to your knowledge?

Just that that group, that Skinhead group that, that [] headed at one point, which is now defunct.

Uh, what types of de-, denominations would you routinely pay [] uh what kind of amounts are we talking about?

That who would, uh, routinely pay []

Well, I, I'm not sure who was paying him. Was it, uh, ADL money that was paying []?

Yeah, I was.

You were paying []?

Well I, not my own money, but ADL, I was....

ADL money....

Yeah.

Went to [] Okay.

Yeah.

Okay, uh, we'll get this.

(Laughs).

We will refine that a little bit. First of all, how did [] first come to your attention?

[] came to our attention because he called up the ADL office here in Los, well, here in Los Angeles, and he said, uh, he was a former Skinhead, and he, he, you know, regrets his old ways, and that kind of stuff.

Okay, and did he....

And the, the Assistant Director, who originally took the call, you know, she didn't, she didn't, she didn't know, Skinheads that much from a hole in the head, and, then, uh, do you, you know anything on, on this name? And I, I had whatever information I had, and, that, that's how we became in contact with him.

Okay. And did [] ask for money, or he just wanted to, right off the bat, did he come out asking for money?

Oh, in the original phone call? No, I don't think, I didn't take the original phone call.

Okay.

So I, I don't know, but I, I don't think so. I don't know.

And then you got, did you, as a result of that phone call, did you end up meeting with [] at one time?

I never met with []

Never?

Never.

Did you talk to him on the phone?

I never spoke to [] on the phone.

Okay. How did you contact [] or...

I, I never contacted [] Uh, on a few occasions, I think, first [] or may, and then later [] uh, needed to contact [] they would first call [] and after [] would contact [] Wait, no, no, excuse me, [] I think had, at one point, [] phone number. She, she would call [] on, she spoke to [] on a few occasions.

Okay, and was [] uh, paid ADL money eventually?

Oh yes.

What types of denominations?

Two-hundred dollars a week.

Okay. Was that cash?

No, it was, uh, um, cashier's check, um, mo-, money order. Money order, excuse me.

And that's an ADL money order?

Yes. Well they, they would give me the money and I would go through the whole rigamarole every week, to get the cashier's check, and, uh, the money order, rather, and mail it to him.

Okay. So who would give you the money?

Um, one of the secretaries in the ADL office in Los Angeles. A check. I would get a check every week, and then I would go to....

They would give you a person, a, a, a business check from the ADL?

Yeah.

Okay.

Made out to "cash." And then I would cash the check and I would go to the Post Office and buy a money order, and then mail it.

Was that [] desire, that he wanted a money order, or was that....

I don't, I never spoke to [] so I, I don't know. I guess originally that's what, I guess it was [] [] who instructed me to do it.

(Coughs). Do you remember what bank the, uh, ADL checks were drawn on?

City National Bank.

You sure of that?

Yeah. Yeah.

So you know what ba-, uh, branch?

Um, they're, it's on Vermont Street, I think it is. Near downtown L.A.

Where?

Vermont Street.

Vermont Street?

I, I, on occasion, uh, no, oh the ADL itself.
I'm getting two things mixed up. Now, um, I don't know.
I, I really don't know where the ADL, itself.

Okay, you're confusing those with your salary check, is that right? Okay.

No, I'm confusing that with another, another account.

Okay.

I had my own Fact Finding account.

Oh, okay, okay.

Under an assumed name.

Okay, okay so....

And that was City National Bank. Uh, ADL, I, I, I got an ADL check, itself.

With their logo on it?

Yeah.

But you don't know what bank that was from?

But, uh, all these years, I don't really know. I don't even know if I remember.

Now you got a check specifically to cash for ?

Yeah.

Okay. And then you had your own....

Yeah.

....work account.

I had my own bank account.

And then you had your own, however you get your paycheck.
And we're talking about three different things here.

Yeah, yeah.

Okay.

Yeah.

(Coughs). And where did you send it to ? Was it
a....

His P.O. box.

Okay.. And how long did this \$200 a week go for?

Hmm.

About, about the whole two years that you knew him?

Oh, um, pretty much. It, it came out to a lot of money at
the end (laughs).

Did they figure out an amount, or...

Well, one day I was bored and I had nothing better to do,
and I, I just calculated it all up, for the hell of it.

Yeah.

And it was like, last November it came out to a little
over \$18,000.

Okay. Well, now what about, you said you had a, uh, an
assumed name with a, a bank account, or....

Uh huh.

....a slush fund, so to speak. Uh, I assume that was for
your sources and, uh, different expenses that....

Basically, uh, for, uh, Fact Finding, you know, um,
getting subscriptions to magazines or newspapers,
sending away for books or tapes, that sort of thing.
It wasn't very much. I mean, it wasn't very, it wasn't
a very big account.

Okay. And who supplied money for that account?

DAVID LEHRER.

Okay.

On occasion, if it got real, I mean it got real low, on a, on a few occasions, then I would just ask him, for some more money, and then I would deposit that into the account.

What form did he give you the money for that? Was that on an ADL check?

Um....yeah. Yeah. Yeah. But then I would go to my own bank first and cash that.

Okay.

(Laughs). And then I would deposit the cash, into that, I think it was, Fact Finding account, at City National Bank.

(Coughs). What, what undercover name was used at the City National Bank?

Initial

And what address did you use on that one?

That was, the address for that account, well, the address was the address at the, uh, our mail drop.

Do you remember that?

Los Angeles, California 90046.

Okay. Now, how was your salary paid to you?

Oh, just like the rest of the employees.

Was it in, every two weeks, or....

Uh, yes, every two weeks.

Was that on a....

On the fifth and the twentieth, of every month.

On ADL checks?

Oh sure. Regular, just like every other employee there. I think it came from New York.

And now then, you don't remember the branch, or the type of bank?

It was Church Street in New York. That's all I can remember, uh....

Okay. Did [] ever mention paying [] for any of the information?

No.

Okay.

Well like, well, like I said, he never came out and said, "I got this information from []" He never, let alone saying I, I paid for this information.

Now did you work with any FBI agents out of the L.A. office.

No.

Okay.

No.

Any FBI agents whatsoever that you....

On one occasion, a young, local, FBI agent came to the ADL, and we gave him some reports that I, to tell you the truth, I had no, no reason to get involved with them.

Okay.

So I, I never pursued that.

Did [] ever mention anything about a, uh, South Africa, or his relationship with a, a group in South Africa, or, uh, people from South Africa?

Uh, yeah, he, he mentioned that he was helping a South African.

Okay. Um, you know what? Let me, let me backtrack on, I forgot to, you know, that one point, uh, with regard to []

Uh huh.

Did [] ever mention, or did you ever learn from the ADL that [] was being paid?

No. He never said anything that I, I didn't think he was. I didn't, [] never mentioned anything.

Okay. Okay, so [] did mention he had a, a contact with a South African person?

Yeah.

Did he say the context of that?

I think I, I see that you're, you're looking at your lawyer. Um, and it seems to be probably a little bit of a, a touchy issue with you.

Uh huh.

I mean, based on, on your account to the FBI, in that report.

Uh huh.

Uh, just let us say that we've had an extensive interview with [] and he's laid pretty much everything out, uh, and he's, he's laid it out to the FBI also.

Uh huh.

And it's, it's common, uh, it's knowledge, uh, we, we know, uh, we, we feel we know exactly what, uh, you know, we, we think [] was up front with us, and what we're looking for here is, uh, for you to corroborate what [] told us.

Okay, um, maybe we can a, a break for a moment.

Sure. I'm ready to turn over the tape anyway. We're going to take a break. The time is 11:49.

Okay.

RECORDING IS STOPPED.

RECORDING RESUMES.

The date is still January 28, 1993. Uh, we just turned over the tape and ended our short break. We're going to continue questioning, or, the interview. That's more,

kinder and gentler, I guess. Okay, you, you mentioned to me earlier, to us earlier that, um, you called [] periodically, or [] called you for, for different reasons.

Uh huh.

And on occasion you would call him, uh, looking for inquiries regarding law enforcement, uh, type, uh, information sought regarding Department of Motor

Vehicles, or an address to a license number, something of that nature. How frequent were the calls for actual law enforcement material, or, or something besides just normal, [] computer.

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I would say infrequent. Uh, the basis for what most of my conversations with [] calling him up on the phone, was I would tell him what I'm up to, he would say what he's up to, what's going, uh, down in his neck of the woods, woods, and my neck of the woods. Sometimes I, I would have a, a name that he wouldn't have, or he, I would, he would have a name that I wouldn't have. On a few occasions it would be, can you look up, uh, can, can you run a P.O. box, or something like that.

Okay. How many, uh, if you just had to throw a round-house estimate out, about how many times a month would that occur?

Uh, that I, personally would ask him for, how many times a month? Maybe once a month or something. It wasn't that frequent.

Okay. I get, the picture, I think. Now did, did, uh, [] ever mention to you about, uh, being in possession of intelligence files from the San Francisco Police, or anything of that nature?

Yes, he mentioned, uh, that on one occasion, I think it had something to do with old American Nazi Party files. I think he also may, may have mentioned the name [] (phonetic).

Now did he, uh, say where he got these American Nazi files, or whatever he was referring to?

From the San Francisco Police Department. They were going to throw them out, and he received them.

Did he say who, who from the San Francisco Police....

No, he did not.

Okay, let's go back to South Africa.

(Coughs).

What did [] tell you about his, uh, contacts with the, uh, uh, the relationship with a man from South Africa, or a person?

Um, he said that he was helping out an individual from South Africa, uh, with information on Bay Area anti-apartheid groups.

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Did he say who the man was, or what, who he represented, or what, what organization he was from?

No, just South Africa.

Did he somehow imply that the guy was from the government of South Africa?

Uh, he never implicitly said anything like that.

Okay. Did he ever say he was paid for selling the information?

Yeah, I'm gonna have to object to that as, as we discussed earlier.

Okay.

Uh, again, uh, it's a question that he normally would like to answer, but we'd have to give him, uh, uh, we'd have to get, uh, in writing from the FBI some assurances that, uh, that answering questions about, uh, exposure to criminal liability.

In, all right, you're talking....

From the FBI (unintelligible).

All right.

Okay? And if we were to get that, we would be glad to, uh, provide the answers on an affidavit, a declaration, or if you'd care to come down here again, in another interview.

Okay. That's fine.

Okay.

As far as the, the same line of questioning, and, and stop me if uh, you want to, but did, uh, [] ever mention [] being involved in a partnership with him, in the South African connection?

Yes, uh, he did.

Okay. Did he mention how long this relationship with the South African lasted?

No. I don't know how long it lasted.

Did [] ever ask you to, uh, participate in any information gathering, or, attend any meetings which were in respect to the, uh, South African information?

No, he did not. However, uh, you know, now that, uh, everything's, uh, transpired, I can look back on past conversations and wonder why he, he said this, this and that, and, or, the other. Uh, I remember, um, a couple years back, he, it was a while back. I don't remember exactly when, but, uh, and I had no knowledge at all of anything, any of the dealings with the South Africans. This was just ADL work. And apparently, as I remember there was some crackdown in South Africa, or some kind of political development going on in South Africa, and at the time he mentioned to me, oh, you know, there was a recent crackdown, or something going on in South Africa. And he said there would be a lot of activity in the Bay Area, with anti-apartheid groups. Um, and he would have to prepare, get onto it now, and, and really, be, be onto the, onto the, uh, anti-apartheid, local anti-apartheid groups.

Okay.

But I assumed he was talking about ADL work.

Okay. Now [] did, by his own admission, tell us that a lot of the ADL work and the South African work kind of dovetailed.

Yeah, he, uh, he also mentioned to me that he, it wasn't any great effort on be, on his behalf, because he was doing that kind of work anyway for the ADL.

Okay. Did he mention to you what types of information he was giving the South Africans? []

Information on Bay Area anti-apartheid groups, I guess. Who, who holds which P.O. box, that sort of thing.

All right.

I didn't, he wasn't all that specific.

All right. Okay, let's change the, uh, the lines, here, of questioning. Do you remember, a person in your files at the ADL in Los Angeles named, uh, [] I'll show, let me show you a, uh, file, or actually it's a copy of a file....

Uh huh.

....on this individual. And this is a, a file folder,

and we, we condensed it down....

Uh huh.

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....from the, uh, from the Xerox. And inside here is a report, from you, uh, it says, and this was found in the ADL office in San, in Los Angeles. Do you remember that report, [redacted]

Oh, wow. Yes, I remember it. What would you like to know?

Ah, let me look. And, uh, would you like to look at it, [redacted]

Just once. Yes.

Do you remember what the, uh, context of, uh, the inquiry on [redacted] was made?

Yeah, um, uh....

I, uh, it's self-explanatory.

Yeah.

Could you explain in now?

Like the memo explains, I mean, I, I saw this individual, uh, driving around the ADL building, on several occasions. Uh, and he was parked near the ADL building. And you know, normally, very security conscious.

Sure.

There's a security guard there, and, and, uh, I thought it was, I thought he might have had some bad reason for being....around the ADL.

Uh huh.

So I took down his license plate.

Okay, the, uh....

Interestingly enough, he had a, he bore a kind of resemblance to, to, uh, [redacted]

(Laughs). Uh, what's the date on that, uh, March 25, 1992? And do you remember that to be fairly accurate? The date?

Yeah. I guess so.

That's about the ballpark, huh?

Uh huh.

Okay. What did you, uh, as a result of this report, or, uh, this, uh, incident, did you make any inquiries in San Francisco?

Well, I guess I, I gave [] the, uh, license plate number to look up for me. And this is what he found out for me.

(Coughs). To look up, what do you mean?

To run the number for me, see who he is.

And not to repeat the obvious, but I think, uh, [] doesn't have the capability of doing that, to your knowledge, is that right? He would have to, uh, employ someone, or....

Uh huh.

....ask for someone else's assistance?

Law enforcement.

Law enforcement. And do they, uh, does the ADL routinely, uh, refer to law enforcement as "official friends?"

Yes. And I, I told, uh, DAVID LEHRER about this report, and I think he was the one who suggested that I just write it down, keep a, a memo of it, in case his name comes up in the future, or, or....

All right. He suggested the file be....

Yeah.

....opened? Okay.

Yeah.

Do you remember, uh, do you remember yourself calling up, uh, [] and asking for the, for that license number?

Yeah.

Okay. And do you remember how long it took for him to get back, on you?

Oh, maybe a couple days. I don't think it was that long. I, don't remember, off hand.

And the date on this report, March 25, this would be after you've received the information back from []...

Yeah. Yeah.

....as far as the, uh, so there could have been a two or three day lag period before that....

Yeah.

....when you actually called []

Yeah.

Okay. Okay, and the license number is [], is that right? A Ford Mustang?

Uh huh.

All right. And this is the file folder you made up?

Yeah.

In regards to that. Okay, another incident that we, uh, found out about, this is, uh, with your interview from the FBI....

Uh huh.

....about a, I think a neighbor of you, you got in some sort of altercation, named []

Uh huh.

You remember that?

Yeah.

Could you tell me a little bit about that?

Well, the....

Let me refresh your, uh, memory as far as a possible date. Toward the end of '91?

Yeah.

Maybe December?

That was when we moved into our new apartment there.

When did you move into the apartment?

December.

Okay. Now tell me a little bit about what happened that time.

Uh, I came home for lunch one day, shortly after we moved in, and I was driving back from my apartment to the ADL office, and this guy was like, really driving crazy, screaming all over the place....nearly ran me off the road. Uh like, like a, like a crazy man. And, uh, I followed his car back, and he went, he parked, at the apartment building next to my apartment building, and I took down his license plate number, and I called [] to find out, basically, what I wanted to find out, I wanted to be, rest assured that he didn't live next door to me. And unfortunately, it came back that he was, so....

He did live there?

Yeah.

Do you remember what street he lived on?

[]

Yeah.

Uh, would that be the []

Yeah.

...

[]

Uh huh, I guess that.

Okay. And you called [] in regards to, uh, inquiring the license, much like you did on the other one, on []

[]

Uh huh.

Okay. And [] got back to you?

Yeah.

How, do you remember, uh....

I don't know. Uh, it was a, couple days.

Okay. Did you ask [] to, uh, check with his official friends, or whatever, or....

Yeah.

....it was just, uh, assumed.

Yeah.

And [] came back with the information, and the information, uh....

Was that he was my next door neighbor.

Okay. Let me show you this.

I know. That was from the, uh....

This was a piece of paper found in the L.A. ADL office....

Uh huh.

....at the file cabinet.

Yeah.

I think you forgot to take this with you (laughs).

Whatever.

It was stuck up there with Scotch tape.

I know. Uh huh.

Is this, uh, your handwriting?

Yes it is.

Okay, and you wrote down this license number?

Uh huh.

And you wrote down the name?

Uh huh..

Okay, and, uh, why did you leave it in this location?

I don't know.

Okay.

Just to....keep a note of it.

[REDACTED] All right.

And a, a, when I found out he was my neighbor, I just, I never went near him. I never looked towards him. I never, I just avoided him, and it was never another confrontation, or, or any crazy....but I, the purpose of me trying to get this information was so I can be assured that he wasn't my neighbor (laughs). But....

Well, upon your termination from the, uh, ADL, uh, this was most likely left on the wall.

Yeah.

And no one ever took it off, I guess.

No. No.

Okay. Well, probably one of the, one of the touchier subjects we're gonna talk about, we have to mention this, is the [REDACTED] story.

Uh huh.

And, uh, you want us to, you want to give me a little background on that?

Well, a little background, uh, uh. I went for an interview, a year ago June, with [REDACTED] of the Wiesenthal Center. Uh, um, I wasn't making that much money at the ADL, and I was looking for another job. So I went for an interview with [REDACTED]. It was a cordial interview, but, uh, he was really jackin' me around.

Uh huh.

Telling me that, uh, it's not common courtesy for someone from the ADL to switch to the Wiesenthal Center. He told me that in, in, in Hebrew. It's the word, word called "gara hara" (phonetic), which I guess it translates, uh, a "common courtesy."

Uh huh.

And, um, just basically, you know, he was on a fishing expedition. He didn't, he wasn't really interested in hiring me, or, he just, just giving me the run around. You know, he wanted just to see some memos that, that, that I might have written, or something like that. I, I can't, I, you know, everything I've written is pretty much of a confidential nature. Okay, well, you know, maybe, maybe not now. Maybe in three months you

call me. You know, really giving me the run around. And, after I came to this real, realization, I was kind of pissed, at him, and, uh, the Wiesenthal Center. And, I said in, in a joking manner, one time to [] on the phone, uh, why don't we, uh, expose him, uh, the Wiesenthal Center investigator, researcher, []

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By exposing him, what do you mean?

Um, apparently, uh, he also was receiving, uh, literature and subscriptions in various hate organizations, so I just, just to, uh, may, maybe bandy his name around, and see what comes up. See, see what, what organizations, uh, he gets subscriptions to, and that sort of thing.

Okay.

But it was, in purely a joking manner, and, uh, nothing was ever done, to harm him, or to publicize his name, by me, or [] And it was in a private conversation between the two of us.

Why did you pick [] as this joke to make? Did he get the position that you wanted, or....

Oh, no. Actually, he, he had his position since 1986. I don't know. It just, when you're....

You're frustrated with the whole....

Yeah.

....organization, I guess?

When you're bitter, you say things, that you might regret latter on. But just, it was just me, mouthing off.

And this was when? This was in June of '92 or '91?

Yeah, it was, it was a good few months, before my firing at the ADL.

Okay.

Uh, may, maybe a good three months, or maybe more. Prior to, to that. And, uh, they, it was a conversation once, it, uh, never came to anything. It was, it was a joke between us and, and was left at that.

Okay, did you ever give, uh, [] any information to do any research on []?

Yeah, I wanted to find out where he lived.

Okay, and....

I gave him the license plate, for [redacted]

The license plate of his car? Okay, how did you obtain the license plate of [redacted] car?

Oh, DAVID LEHRER asked me to come, go, oh no, what happened was, uh, Wiesenthal Center has a, I don't know, monthly publication, and, uh, it was last year, I guess it was during the primary Presidential elections, and, um, there, there were a bunch of interviews between, I guess, officials of the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the various Presidential candidates. Their views on Soviet Jewry, and, uh, Israel, and what-not. And, uh, DAVID LEHRER seemed to think that, uh, it violated their, or might have violated, uh, their non-profit status. The ADL's very, very concerned about this matter, and he wanted a copy of that, uh, Wiesenthal Center publication, I guess to forward to New York, to make a comment about, uh, oh, are they jeopardizing their non-profit tax status by covering the news. They're not supposed to be doing things like that, having anything to do with elections, if you're a non-profit organization. So, uh, on my lunch break I went down to the Wiesenthal Center, just to the lobby there, just, to pick up a copy of that, and, uh, [redacted] was coming, coming out of the parking lot. Nearly ran over my foot (laughs).

On purpose?

No. No.

Okay.

He doesn't, he doesn't know me from a hole in the head.

Okay.

I just jotted down, well, actually I didn't jot down, I remem-, when I came back to the ADL, I remembered it for....

What was your intention, uh, why did you want to find out where he lived?

Just curiosity.

Okay. You never in, intended any harm to come to him?

No.

Uh, [redacted] does that ring a bell?

[REDACTED] Yeah.

That's the one?

A Buick.

You, pardon?

Buick.

Uh, '86 Buick? Okay. And that's the one you called [REDACTED]

Yeah.

And you asked [REDACTED] to, uh, find out from his official source?

Yeah.

What the, and [REDACTED] came back to you?

Well I, I never say, "Find out from...." Find out.

Just, just find out. Okay. And [REDACTED] did he come back....

Yeah.

.....to you with the information?

Yeah.

And, could this, uh, have been, do you, do you remember an exact date, or, maybe April, April of '92? Is that about right?

It was during the Presidential, I guess so.

Okay.

I don't know for certain.

And after that was the, uh, conversation with [REDACTED] on the phone, that light-hearted, joking conversation?

Could have been, yeah, afterwards.

Okay.

But way before October, and no harm ever came to the guy, and his name wasn't publicized.

(Coughs).

And it was a light-hearted conversation.

Okay, was [] involved in, uh, infiltrating any undercover groups, any, I mean, any groups?

I don't know. I don't, uh, he says that he, you know, receives their subscriptions and that kind, I really don't know.

Pull something else out of my bag of tricks here.
Do you recognize this report?

Yes.

Can I take a look at it, please?

Sure. And as long as, uh, you don't memorize anything in there, we won't have to shoot your eyeballs out, or.... It's a (laughs), it's uh, supposed to be....

Yeah, right.

It's supposed to be a confidential report, but, uh....

Did you prepare this report?

No, that's the one I told you about. [] ...

Ah, okay.

Can we talk about this?

Sure can.

Okay. This is a report entitled The, The Nation of Islam. That's on top of the, uh....

Uh huh.

....table of contents. It's thirty-four pages.

Uh huh.

Have you seen this report before?

Yes.

Okay. Where have you seen this report?

In my office at the ADL. In a box.

When did you see it there first?

Uh, several months ago, I can't be exact to tell you, it was during the whole Venice, California H.U.D., uh, situation with Nation of Islam. That's the, uh, federal housing urban authority, department. It's contemplating giving a contract to Nation of Islam for security for, to provide security for....

Right.

....apartment buildings in Venice.

I read a lot about that in your old office (laughs).

(Unintelligible).

A lot of material there, and, uh, quite frankly, this might have been there, and I didn't pay much attention to it, I don't know. But anyway, uh, this, do you know how this report got there?

I assume it was from [redacted], because, uh, attached to this report was a pink memo, dated 1988, I think it was, from [redacted] to IRWIN SUALL in New York, stating that, uh, she received this from a I guess it was a highly confidential law enforcement contact, official friend, and to be treated in confidence, that kind of stuff.

Was the pink like a routing slip, or....

No, a memo.

Memo.

Memo.

And this was, uh, dated back in when?

'88.

And do you remember doing anything with it, or....

Yeah.

....whatever happened?

I, it was during this whole, uh, situation with, uh, H.U.D. and Nation of Islam in Venice, and at that time, uh, [redacted] in Washington, D.C. was, was doing research and writing an op-ed piece on this whole matter, uh, particularly focusing on the criminal history of the

Nation of Islam leaders. And, I think it was originally for the Washington Times or Post, although I think it was syndicated later on, in other papers. And, uh, just by happenstance, I found this in a box, uh, in my office. I didn't know it was there before. And, I sent a copy of that to [] in Washington, with the attached [] memo on top. And a copy of that also to [] 'Cause I figured she, she could use it in her op-ed piece.

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Okay, so this, uh, to your knowledge, this, uh, did you talk to [] later about this memo, or this report, I mean?

Yeah.

Had he seen it before?

I don't think so, no.

So it's safe to assume, uh, from your standpoint, that, uh, it didn't emanate from [] is that correct?

No. It emanated from []

Okay, who was working in the L.A. office?

Yeah, she was the predecessor for []

And she had friends in law enforcement as well?

Obviously, yeah.

Okay. You have any knowledge of the ADL-sponsored trips to Israel?

Uh....

Like for law enforcement?

Uh, for law, uh, just [] mentioned one time that, I don't know, relatively recently, I don't, past couple years, that [] organized, uh, a trip, for law enforcement personnel, to Israel.

Uh huh. And....

That's all I know.

....do you have any, uh....

He....

....knowledge of how they're selected, or, or why, or....

I don't know. I guess [] I don't know. He also said that she had to raise, she, it was a fight with IRWIN SUALL, and she had to raise her own fund, I mean it was an up, uphill battle, as far as this trip was concerned, but she pulled it off.

Did they ever ask you to make any recommendations for any personnel?

No, no.

Okay.

That's all I know about that trip.

Uh, let me get back to the [] stuff.

Uh huh.

Is that your writing?

Yeah.

Okay, it's a, uh, memo I found in the ADL office.

Yeah.

And, handwritten about []?

Uh huh.

Okay, what, what's the purpose of that?

Uh, that was a, a note I wrote, to myself, following a conversation with this individual who produced, or was involved with that, uh, "God's Country" play. The guy came to me originally, wanting information on the ALAN BERG murder, and Aryan Nations, and then, I guess he asked [] to, uh, lead audience discussions, and so I, this was my, notes of my conversation with, I think his name was [] something, I don't know.

It's immaterial, okay. What, what about this news article?

California Jewish Press.

And, is this your writing on the bottom?

Yeah.

Okay, and that refers to, uh, "God's Country" again?

Yeah.

The, the play?

Uh huh.

Okay.

Can I have a copy of that article?

I, I can't give you, you could call the, uh....

I did.

....call [] at the, at, uh, ADL. I, I can't, give out, this is, this is a copy of evidence that we seized and we can't, uh....

Oh.

....copy any of that out. Sorry.

'Cause I tried to get a copy from the California Jewish Press, and it's a real (laughs), they, they don't have any more copies of those.

Okay.

What's the date of the article?

Uh, 7/24....

7/24/92; it's handwritten. California Jewish Press.

7/29?

7/24/92.

All right.

I'll pull something out of here. More tricks here. Here's a list of some law enforcement officers that, uh, uh, went to the ADL-sponsored trip to Israel.

Uh huh.

Do you recognize any of the names?

Yeah, [] I recognize his name.

San Diego, uh, Sheriffs?

Uh huh.

Okay.

And, of course, [redacted] That's the only one I recognize. Just, uh, [redacted] and, uh, [redacted]

Have you had any contact with any ADL people recently, since you've been fired, or, recently?

Not recently, since I've been fired. Uh, I had a few conversations with, uh, [redacted]. Uh, she called, well, initially, it was about my last check, when, when's my last check coming in, that kind of stuff. Um....

Also, he's being represented by my brother, who's also an attorney, named [redacted] and, and by myself, with, oh, possibly filing a civil action against the, uh, against the ADL.

Okay.

But [redacted]...

With regards to the termination (unintelligible)?

With regards to the termination and the circumstances surrounding the termination.

Okay.

And [redacted] called me on one occasion to ask me a technical question, uh, what type of shoe, shoelaces various Skinhead groups wear. It seems there was some kind of a....

The red versus the white, or, whatever (unintelligible).

Yeah, there was some kind of Skinhead murder trial in Houston, Texas, and I guess no one in the ADL knew these answers, and she called me. A little chutzpah, but, uh....

Did you give her the answer?

Yeah, I gave her the answer. I'm a, I'm a, I'm a sucker, I guess.

Uh, someone, someone once explained to me that the definition of chutzpah....

Yeah.

....is when someone walks in behind you on a revolving door, and he comes out on the other end in front of you (laughs).

(Laughs).

Is that accurate (laughs)?

(Unintelligible).

I guess.

So that's....

(Laughs). But that's a little analogy.

Uh, the real definition of chutzpah is, uh, when you're, uh, when you....

RECORDING STOPS

RECORDING RESUMES

I think a prime example of federal chutzpah is when the, uh, [redacted]

RECORDING STOPS

RECORDING RESUMES

Okay, here we go. The, uh, tape had run out on the other one, and we're starting side number three now, and the time is 12:34. Continuing. With [redacted] Okay [redacted] you mentioned, uh, making payments to [redacted]

Uh huh.

Uh, sending them to him, through a P.O. box, with the ADL, uh, paying for it.

Uh huh.

Uh, were there any other informants that you also had, uh, and I'm not going to ask you to name 'em, but, did you have other informants that, uh, you, you paid on a regular basis, similar to [redacted]

No, he was the only one.

Okay. The entire time you worked for the ADL?

Yes.

Was [redacted] the only one that you paid?

He was the only informant that I paid.

Okay. What I'd like to do is, uh, I think you mentioned to the FBI one time that, uh, they asked you about [] [] and [] running them up on the, uh....

Uh huh.

....or asking [] to make some offic-, some official inquiries, and you mentioned to the FBI that if you saw a list of names, there was a chance you might recognize some of them as being, uh, as you doing research on them, or calling up [] to check on names or licenses.

Well, that's what [] said, I didn't....

Could I show you, if I show you some, a list of names, uh, just, could you see if you recognize any of them?

Let's see the list.

[] is on the bottom,....

Uh huh.

....and you recognize that one already, but, uh, look at the other ones, and see if you remember making any official or inquiries with [] on any of these.

Okay. [] He's a, uh, young Skinhead in San Francisco. [] sounds familiar, although, it doesn't ring a bell, I mean, I can't place it. []

[] is, I think, the real name for []

[] Yes, the shu-, real name's []

[] uh uh. []

[] second in command to [] Nation of Islam. [] also sounds familiar, but, uh, I can't place it. And that's it.

And [] you recognize as being a Skin?

Yeah, he's a young Skinhead, uh, in San Francisco. He's originally from Maine.

Do you recall making any inquiries on any of those subjects through [] Or, uh, did you see their names from, from other sources, or hear about them?

I think [] obviously, ah, he must have, um, did a memo on [] I didn't, ask him, for []

Okay. You're right (laughs).

[REDACTED] (Laughs).

Bingo.

(Laughs).

No, [REDACTED] did do a memo on that.

Yeah.

And we found the memo, in, in your office.

Yeah.

We found, uh, the memo in the San Francisco office, and, uh, you're right. Okay. Anyway, okay. That's fine, thank you. Did, uh, the, the, uh, events we talked about in regard to [REDACTED] and San Francisco....

Uh huh.

....okay? Does the name Operation Evesdrop mean anything to you? Okay, in reference to, uh, listening to the, uh, [REDACTED]? Yeah?

No.

Okay. Did you ever have any similar operations down here, where you listened to voicemail on any subversive organizations, or any radical groups?

No.

Okay, besides just the regular hotlines that are....

Yeah.

....monitored by anybody?

Yeah.

Okay. Was it, uh, common knowledge, through the ADL, that if one developed a law enforcement contact, that, uh, he would pay the contact any money for any kind of documents....

I have, I know of no instance where an ADL, ever paid any law enforcement contact.

Okay. Um, do you know if, or, do, has [REDACTED] ever mentioned to you paying [REDACTED] for, uh, things of that nature?

Never.

Okay. Do you have any, uh, law enforcement contacts in the L.A. area, that you were particularly, uh, uh, had a good working relationship with.

Yes.

Okay, how many were there?

Uh, three, that I personally had contact with.

Okay, would, would you mind naming them?

Um, they were all from the, uh, Sheriff's Department. L.A. County Sheriff's Department.

Okay.

Um, um, (laughs) um, [redacted] and

Okay. And, did they, uh, did they work, uh, right groups, or Skins or anything like that, or, uh....

[redacted] uh, worked, uh, the Arab groups. Although now he was, he left that unit, several months ago, and he is assigned just regular Sheriff's now, I don't know what he's doing. Uh, [redacted] uh, works the, uh, black extremist groups and the, uh, Iranian groups. And [redacted] did all the, like white supremacists.

Uh, do you know a guy by the name, a law enforcement guy in Southern California named [redacted]

Yeah.

Okay, uh, do you know what agency he's with?

He's with the Anti-terrorism Division, L.A.P.D.

Okay, and did you work with him also?

No. I spoke to him on one occasion, that [redacted] asked that, oh, uh, ADL was getting all these, uh, uh, threatening letters, in regard to their, to one of their black extremist reports. And, uh, she just asked me, you know, she, she sent copies of these letters to [redacted] and she just asked me to call [redacted] just to, to, oh, uh, oh, to get his address, so, uh, uh, where I could send 'em to. And that's the

only occasion I ever spoke to [redacted]

Did [redacted] uh, ever give you information about [redacted]
or, uh, do you remember him with, uh, interrogating
[redacted] or talking to him, and....

No.

....uh, the ADL making a report about that?

No.

Okay. And you know....

That's the only occasion I ever spoke to [redacted] was
just to the address, where to send these letters.

As far as you know, you've never given any money to [redacted]
[redacted] or the ADL never has?

Not to my knowledge.

Okay.

Um, when you were, uh, let go by the ADL....

Uh huh.

....were you let go, or were you fired?
What exactly?

Well, they, (laughs and coughs) they, should I say this?

Yeah, well, we could say he was pressured into, uh....

Yeah, I was, I was to resign.

....into resign.

But it was, it was really a fire.

For the good of the League, huh?

(Laughs) Yeah.

Uh, still wondering why.

Were you offered a, a special benefit, like, uh,
continued health care, or something, if you would
resign rather than being fired?

Yes. Yes.

And what was that?

Well, my, my wife is pregnant.

Uh huh.

And I informed [] that, uh, you know, that, that health insurance is, is....first thing on my mind. And she assured me that, uh, if I would resign, then I would continue to be on their group health plan, uh, the only, uh, thing being that I would have to just pay my own premiums, monthly. She assured me that. And that's why I chose to resign instead of being fired. The way she explained it to me, if I would be fired I would be entitled to unemployment benefits. If I would resign, I would be entitled to continue on the group health plan.

Uh, as a matter of fact, they reneged on that.

They reneged on both (laughs). They, uh, they fought me with the unemployment, I, I got an appeal, I'm, I'm, I have unemployment. Uh, and they denied me the unem-, uh, the uh, health insurance. They even denied me, the, they even, uh, refused to give, to give me even, uh, my COBRA benefits, which is, like, the law. They, they, they, they ne-, they never even informed me that I'm entitled to COBRA until I started questioning them and asking them, and then I found out later on that it's like, \$850 a month. So they, they really screwed me, every which way.

The only other question I would ask has already been asked, and I, I, (cough), I just want to ask it again. Uh, to your knowledge, have you, or, or any, anybody in the ADL paid any law enforcement officer, any amounts of money for information received.

No.

And, do you have any, any, uh, relationship with any San Francisco police officer?

No, I don't.

Okay. I don't have any more.

Okay, I guess that's about it. I don't think you want to tell us anything voluntarily, without us asking (laughs). We're going to conclude the interview today....

Unless you feel that there's something that you feel you'd like to tell us, uh....

Not off hand.....(laughs).

I think, uh, you guys, I think you guys should be more in

the position of knowing what you want to know.

The time is 12:44. I'm concluding the interview. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Thank you.

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Date 3/31/93

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (65X-LA-153918) (P) (CRA-2)

SUBJECT: UNSUBS;
 UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION
 LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED
 INFORMATION;
 ESP - X;
 OO: LOS ANGELES

This entire communication is classified "~~Secret~~"

(U)

Enclosed for Los Angeles are two copies of an
 FD-302 regarding Inspector [redacted] of the San Francisco
 Police Department, dated 3/2/93.

The enclosed FD-302 contains information which
 relates to captioned matter.

12-1-99
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DATE: 3/12/92

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.) Pg. 1 Los Angeles Times

Date: 4/13/93
Edition:Title: New Details of Extensive
ADL Spy Operation EmergeCharacter:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

Indexing:

New Details of Extensive ADL Spy Operation Emerge

■ Inquiry: Transcripts reveal nearly 40 years of espionage by a man who infiltrated political groups.

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—To the outside world, Roy Bullock was a small-time art dealer who operated from his house in the Castro District. In reality, he was an undercover spy who picked through garbage and amassed secret files for the Anti-Defamation League for nearly 40 years.

His code name at the prominent Jewish organization was Cal, and he was so successful at infiltrating political groups that he was once chosen to head an Arab-American delegation that visited Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-San Francisco) in her Washington, D.C., office.

For a time, Cal tapped into the

phone message system of the White Aryan Resistance to learn of hate crimes. From police sources, he obtained privileged, personal information on at least 1,394 people. And he met surreptitiously with agents of the South African government to trade his knowledge for crisp, new \$100 bills.

These are among the secrets that Bullock and David Gurvitz, a former Los Angeles-based operative, divulged in extensive interviews with police and the FBI in a growing scandal over the nationwide intelligence network operated by the Anti-Defamation League.

Officials of the Anti-Defamation League, while denying any improper activity, have said they will

Please see SPY, A16

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SPY: 40 Years of Undercover Work for ADL

Continued from A1
cooperate with the investigation. They have refused to discuss Bullock and Guryitz.

Transcripts of the interviews—among nearly 700 pages of documents released by San Francisco prosecutors last week—offer new details of the private spy operation, that authorities allege crossed the line into illegal territory.

At times, the intelligence activities took on a cloak-and-dagger air with laundered payments, shredded documents, hotel rendezvous with foreign agents and code names like "Ironside" and "Flipper."

On one occasion, Guryitz recounts, he received a tip that a pro-Palestinian activist was about to board a plane bound for Haifa, Israel. Although the Anti-Defamation League publicly denies any ties to Israel, Guryitz phoned an Israeli consular official to warn him. Shortly afterward, another official called Guryitz back and debriefed him.

The court papers also added to the mystery of Tom Gerard, a former CIA agent and San Francisco police officer accused of providing confidential material from police files to the Anti-Defamation League.

Gerard fled to the Philippines last fall after he was interviewed by the FBI, but left behind a briefcase in his police locker. Its contents included passports, driver's licenses and identification cards in 10 different names, identification cards in his own name for four American embassies in Central America, and a collection of blank birth certificates, Army discharge papers and official stationery from various agencies.

Also in the briefcase were extensive information on death squads, a black hood, apparently for use in interrogations, and photos of blindfolded and chained men.

Investigators suspect that Gerard and other police sources gave the ADL confidential driver's license or vehicle registration information on a vast number of people, including as many as 4,500 members of one target group, the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee.

Each case of obtaining such data from a law enforcement officer could constitute a felony, San Francisco Police Inspector Ron Roth noted in an affidavit for a search warrant.

The Anti-Defamation League, a self-described Jewish defense and civil rights organization, acknowledges it has long collected information on groups that are anti-Semitic, extremist, or racist. The ADL's fact-finding division, headed by Irwin Sull in New York, enjoys a reputation for thoroughness and has often shared its information with police agencies and journalists.

However, evidence seized from Bullock's computer shows he kept files on at least 950 groups of all political stripes, including the American Civil Liberties Union,

Earth Island Institute, the United Auto Workers, Jews for Jesus, Mother Jones magazine, the Center for Investigative Reporting, the Bo Gritz for President Committee, the Asian Law Caucus and the AIDS activist group ACT-UP.

The computer files also included information on several members of Congress, including Pelosi, House Armed Services Committee Chairman Ron Dellums (D-Berkeley), and former Republican Rep. Pete McCloskey from the Bay Area.

In their statements, Bullock and Guryitz said the Anti-Defamation League has collected information on political activists in the Los Angeles area for more than 30 years. They said they worked closely with three Los Angeles County sheriff's deputies who specialized in intelligence work, a Los Angeles Police Department anti-terrorism expert and a San Diego County Sheriff's Department intelligence officer.

A spokesman for the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department said he knew nothing of any contact between the deputies and the ADL. The Los Angeles Police Department, which earlier refused to cooperate with the investigation, and the San Diego Sheriff's Department declined comment.

Bullock, 58, is one of the most intriguing characters in the spy drama. Although he is not Jewish, he began working undercover as a volunteer for the ADL and the FBI in Indiana in 1954 after reading a book about a man who infiltrated the Communist Party.

Bullock moved to Los Angeles in 1960 and was given a paid position by the ADL as an intelligence operative, he told authorities. In the mid-1970s, he moved to San Francisco and continued his spy operations up and down the West Coast.

To keep his identity secret, his salary has always been funneled through Beverly Hills attorney Bruce I. Hochman—who has never missed a payment in more than 32 years, Bullock said.

He was an investigator for the ADL, investigated any and all anti-democratic movements, Bullock said. Officially, I'm a contract worker with Bruce Hochman. That way, the league would not be officially connected with me.

Bullock said he became a master infiltrator, groups from Com-

munist to Arab-Americans to gay radicals to skinheads, usually using his own name but, once, adopting the alias Elmer Fink.

I'm a one-of-a-kind, he told police. In recent years, however, his ADL affiliation has increasingly become known, and at one point he was confronted by a skinhead armed with a shotgun who threatened to kill him.

In the mid-1980s, he helped San Francisco police solve a bombing at a synagogue by combing through the trash of extremist Cory Phelps and matching handwriting with samples on a threatening letter obtained by police. In part because of this investigation, he became close friends with Gerard, who at the time was working in the San Francisco police intelligence division.

Bullock frequently searched through the garbage of target groups. An FBI report noted how he investigated one Palestinian group. Bullock would write reports based on what he found in the trash, and would share the reports with Gerard. Bullock also gave the trash to Gerard for Gerard to examine. Gerard would later return the trash to Bullock.

From a wide range of sources, Bullock compiled files on 9,876 individuals and more than 950 political groups. Gerard, whose files contained many identical entries, kept files on 7,011 people.

In 1987, Bullock and Gerard began selling some of their vast wealth of information to the South African government. Bullock told of meeting secretly with South African agents at San Francisco hotels and receiving envelopes filled with thousands of dollars in new \$100 bills.

Bullock insists the information he sold consisted of data he culled only from public sources. Once he rewrote an innocuous item published by San Francisco Chronicle columnist Herb Caen about South African Bishop Desmond Tutu and the wife of a prominent attorney, Melvin Belli, and submitted it as his own work.

Bullock said it was Gerard who sold official police intelligence. Bullock said he split about \$16,000 from the South African government evenly with Gerard, telling him at one point, I may be gay but I'm a straight arrow.

In his interviews with the police and FBI, Bullock talked freely about engaging in certain activities that prosecutors say would appear to violate the law.

For example, Bullock admitted receiving driver's license records and criminal histories from Gerard on about 50 people—a fraction of the confidential police data found in his computer. And he said Gerard gave him complete San Francisco Police Department intelligence files on various Nazi groups that were supposed to be destroyed under department policy.

Bullock said he also received confidential FBI reports on the Nation of Islam that he later shredded at the Anti-Defamation League's San Francisco office.

Bullock seemed proud of the Operation Eavesdrop, in which he used a paid informant, code named Scumbag, to help tap into White Aryan Resistance, a photomessage network, listening to messages left by members of a right-wing group. For a short time, it was wonderful, he told police.

In Los Angeles, ADL operative Guryitz was hired about four years ago as a fact finder to keep intelligence files and occasionally go undercover to the meetings of target groups.

Among other things, he told San Francisco authorities, the Los Angeles ADL office kept records of any Arab-American who had anti-Israel leanings, or who wrote a letter to a newspaper expressing such sentiment.

Guryitz was recently forced to resign after an incident in which he attempted to misuse the ADL intelligence network to seek revenge on a rival who got a job. Guryitz wanted at the Simon Wiesenthal Center, for Holocaust Studies. Guryitz got confidential police data on the rival and threatened to expose him as a Jewish spy to a right-wing hate group.

Guryitz has since begun cooperating with police and the FBI in the probe, providing considerable information about the ADL operation. Unlike Bullock, he has been assured he is not a subject of the investigation.

Guryitz declined through his attorney in Los Angeles to be interviewed by The Times. Bullock's attorney said his client would not comment.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

LA TIMES

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Date: 4/14/93
Edition:

Title:

Character:
or
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EDITORIALS of THE TIMES

A Line Never to Be Crossed

To defame is to injure a person's reputation or honor through false and malicious statements, to bring infamy or disgrace on that person. Since its founding in 1913, the Anti-Defamation League's worthy mission has been to stop defamation of Jews and to secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens. Yet recent news stories by Times staff writer Richard C. Paddock raise the question of whether the ADL might have crossed the clear line that separates gathering information on defamers and gathering information that possibly could be used to embarrass or even defame others.

Police last week served search warrants on ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles, seizing evidence of a nationwide intelligence operation that allegedly kept files on more than 950 political

groups, newspapers, labor unions and as many as 12,000 people. No charges have been filed, and so far the case has raised more questions than it has answered.

It is no surprise that the ADL has kept close tabs on individuals and groups of all stripes that trade in hate or violence, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Aryan Resistance. But why has the ADL collected information on the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, Greenpeace, Mills College in Oakland, the board of directors of San Francisco public television station KQED, the United Farm Workers, Los Angeles Times foreign correspondent Scott Kraft and several members of Congress?

What threat did these groups or individuals pose? Did the ADL act within the law in collecting this informa-

tion? If it did, why did it employ a clandestine operative who was paid through an intermediary?

Authorities say that at least some of the material collected was confidential information obtained illegally from law enforcement agencies, a felony. In addition, ADL members could face felony counts of eavesdropping and conspiracy, among other charges.

Some information gathered by the organization may have been sold to the South African government, authorities say.

The ADL vigorously denies breaking any laws. It also promises to cooperate with investigations by the FBI, the San Francisco Police Department and San Francisco prosecutors. The Los Angeles Police Department, which has so far refused to cooperate in these investigations, should do the same.

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Group Urges Inquiry of ADL Spy Network

By KENNETH REICH
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Officials of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee called Tuesday for a vigorous federal investigation of the Anti-Defamation League, charging that the Jewish organization's spy network has been engaged in massive civil rights violations aimed at critics of Israel.

Angered that secret files kept by the Anti-Defamation League included the names of 4,500 of the American-Arab group's 30,000 members, the group's president, Albert Mokhiber, said in Washington:

"This case represents the greatest invasion of Arab-American civil and constitutional rights that we have ever feared. The facts in this case far surpass even the greatest fears that we may have had about Israeli infiltration into American government, law enforcement and community activism."

Mokhiber said he has conferred with members of Congress about possible hearings by a House subcommittee chaired by Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.). The hearings would look into revelations by San Francisco prosecutors about a police and FBI investigation into

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law by disclosing the confidential material.

The Los Angeles regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Nazih Bayda, said Tuesday that the revelations undermine people's faith that the police will protect them.

"It is of grave concern when this protective function of a law enforcement agency can be compromised by a private organization such as the Anti-Defamation League to serve its espionage activities," Bayda said.

Bayda said the American-Arab group is examining the possibility of bringing civil lawsuits against the Anti-Defamation League.

"It is our sincere hope that Jewish-American organizations will speak out against the Anti-Defamation League involvement and will join forces with us to put an end to these illegal and dangerous practices," Mokhiber said.

SPY: Group Wants Investigation of ADL Network

Continued from A3

the Anti-Defamation League's spying operation.

"Our own organization and membership was spied upon and infiltrated by persons passing themselves off as sincerely interested in the issues of civil and human rights," Mokhiber said.

Commenting on Mokhiber's statements, David Lerner, the Anti-Defamation League's regional director in Los Angeles, said:

"We don't monitor groups or individuals on the basis of their race, religion or ethnicity. We do have every right to educate ourselves and the public about what critics of Israel say and write. We have done so for decades and we will continue to do so."

The San Francisco inquiry has focused on allegations that the Anti-Defamation League obtained information on as many as 12,000 individuals from police undercover agents, who may have violated the

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Respect Free Speech, but Note the Words

■ **Extremists: Keeping track of them is a public service; Americans should know what's in their midst.**

By DAVID A. LEHRER

"Five People Killed at New York's World Trade Center," "Shootout at a Cult Retreat Near Waco, Tex." The headlines are grim reminders of the precariousness of our open democratic society. A handful of terrorists disrupts a city, religious zealots terrorize a small town and both hypnotize a nation.

It is at times like these that the importance of the Anti-Defamation League's fact-finding operation becomes more apparent than ever. During calmer times, society can comfortably ignore the crucial need for monitoring extremists, but not today.

As police were sifting through the rubble at the World Trade Center, one hoped that they had clues as to which groups in the area might have a propensity for violence, which ones might have been involved. Indeed, police quickly developed investigative theories, based on research, as to which individuals had espoused the brand of political extremism that could have led to the wanton murder of innocent people.

In Texas, cult experts had documentation on what the Branch Davidians had previously said and done and an understanding of their *modus operandi*.

Understanding the nature and methods of extremists is the obligation of all Americans, not just law enforcement. If the general public is unable to reject the blandishments of bigots and those who exist on the fringes of our political landscape, law enforcement will be of little help, other than as a cleanup crew.

The ADL has worked for decades to educate the public about the threats posed by extremist groups. Our reports, books and other material document, in careful detail, groups—on the right and on the left—that are potential sources of danger to our democracy and its fragile fabric.

The reports are widely disseminated to the media, law enforcement, research institutions and the general public and have been critically important in alerting the public to imminent threats.

From the skinhead youth gangs to the far right's paramilitary training camps to successful litigation against the racist leaders Tom and John Metzger, the ADL's systematic gathering of data—noting the words and deeds of those who manifest a contempt for democracy and its processes—has proved invaluable.

The history of the 20th Century amply demonstrates the impact of words—the frenzy to which throngs can be raised with a demagogue's oratory. The First Amendment does not mandate that Americans ignore the threats that other nations have learned to take seriously. Words need not be treated as ephemera to be heard and, by fiat, forgotten. The Founding Fathers understood both the majesty and the impact

of free speech, and so does the ADL.

The right to speech must be respected, but so must the right to note it and subject it to critical analysis.

For the past decade and a half, to correct abuses of the past, civil-libertarian groups have succeeded in limiting the ability of law-enforcement agencies to collect information on individuals. The recent attacks against the ADL implies that private organizations should also be restricted from keeping information. The ADL's effort to monitor extremists is deemed "spying" by some civil libertarians.

Although misconduct by law enforcement and harassment of private citizens from any sector—public or private—must be stopped, it is increasingly necessary for the body politic to be aware of violence-prone extremist groups. If law enforcement and, by extension, private organizations, are prevented from educating themselves and the public, we lose a valuable weapon in maintaining public safety.

We will become a society devoid of memory. In effect, history will begin anew each day. When a World Trade Center explodes, research and analysis will begin the day after, not years before.

Our society undoubtedly needs protection from invasions of our privacy and overzealous and invasive law-enforcement agencies, but the Constitution does not mandate collective amnesia or ignorance by public or private organizations.

David A. Lehrer is regional director of the Anti-Defamation League in Los Angeles.

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LA TIMES

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Class Action Suit Accuses ADL Spy Ring

By KENNETH REICH
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Nineteen people who claim that an Anti-Defamation League spy network violated their privacy rights, including the wife of former Rep. Pete McCloskey and the son of former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens, filed a class action lawsuit Wednesday against the group and two undercover operatives.

The suit, which relies on a privacy provision in the California Constitution, seeks \$2,500 in damages for each person on whom the Anti-Defamation League obtained confidential police information, said McCloskey, the lawyer for the plaintiffs.

McCloskey, a critic of Israeli policies when he ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in 1982, questioned whether the ADL is an agency of the Israeli government. If it is, he said, it should register as a foreign agent.

David Lehrer, the ADL's regional director in Los Angeles, said ADL attorneys were reviewing the lawsuit and would comment today.

The lawsuit, filed in San Francisco Superior Court, is the first civil action arising from an investigation of the spy operation by the San Francisco Police Department and the FBI.

The suit named Roy Bullock, who told police he has been paid to spy for the ADL for 40 years, and former San Francisco Police Officer Tom Gerard.

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SUIT: Civil Claim Filed Over ADL Spy Network

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Also on Wednesday, Irv Rubin, national chairman of the Jewish Defense League, said he was shocked to learn that his group had also been subject to spying by the ADL.

"I'm not sorry the Anti-Defamation League has looked into the legitimate enemies of the Jewish people," said Rubin, who is not a plaintiff in the lawsuit and who made a separate statement. "But when we hear that they have also investigated the ACLU, Mills College, the NAACP and a host of others including us, then we feel

groups of people to try to get me fired."

Colin Edwards said he was fired from a job as a commentator on a San Francisco FM radio station, KALW, after his boss told him the group had protested his Middle Eastern commentaries.

McCloskey said: "Legally, there is nothing wrong with the Anti-Defamation League collecting newspaper clippings and so forth. But they cross over the line into illegality when they obtain government information that they know, or should know, is confidential."

It's time for it to close its doors.

McCloskey said most of the plaintiffs believe that their careers have been compromised by ADL attacks on them after they made anti-Israel statements. Two people joining the suit who spoke Wednesday are former television and radio commentators.

Donald McGaffin, a former commentator at San Francisco television station KPIX, said that after he questioned Israeli policy on negotiating with hijackers in 1985, he was informed by his management that the ADL had sent

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SUBJECT: [] AKA []
NATIONAL CRIME INFORMATION CENTER (NCIC) - VICTIM; COMPUTER
FRAUD AND ABUSE; OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

FOR INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU AND LOS ANGELES, ON APRIL
8, 1993, OFFICERS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO POLICE DEPARTMENT
(SFPD) AND THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA FRANCHISE TAX BOARD,

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EXECUTED SEARCH WARRANTS AT OFFICES OF THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH (ADL) IN LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO.

THE SEARCH WARRANTS WERE OBTAINED BY THE SFPD. THE AFFIDAVITS FOR THE WARRANTS WERE COMPRISED IN PART OF FBI INFORMATION WHICH SAN FRANCISCO HAS SHARED WITH SFPD IN THE COURSE OF CAPTIONED INVESTIGATION. SAN FRANCISCO WAS ADVISED OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE WARRANTS ONLY A SHORT TIME BEFORE THEIR EXECUTION. FBI AGENTS DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE SEARCHES, NOR WAS THERE ANY REQUEST FOR FBI ASSISTANCE.

AS THE BUREAU AND LOS ANGELES ARE AWARE, INVESTIGATIONS SURROUNDING CAPTIONED SUBJECTS HAVE GENERATED INTENSE MEDIA AND PUBLIC INTEREST, GIVEN THE NATURE OF THE ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THEY ARE ALLEGED TO HAVE ENGAGED. EXECUTION OF THE ABOVE WARRANTS WILL HEIGHTEN THAT INTEREST.

SAN FRANCISCO HAS RECEIVED A BRIEF REPORT FROM SFPD CONCERNING ITEMS TAKEN IN THE SEARCHES. ONLY A SMALL AMOUNT OF MATERIAL WAS TAKEN FROM THE LOS ANGELES ADL OFFICE. INCLUDED WERE SOME CHECK STUBS AND INTERNAL ADL MEMOS. NOTABLY NOT FOUND IN LOS ANGELES WAS AN FBI REPORT ON THE NATION OF ISLAM, THE ADL'S POSSESSION OF WHICH HAS PREVIOUSLY CAUSED THE OPENING OF AN FBI INVESTIGATION IN LOS ANGELES.

PAGE THREE DE FBISF 0002 ~~SECRET~~

FINANCIAL RECORDS WERE ALSO SOUGHT AT THE SAN FRANCISCO ADL OFFICE. SFPD ALSO OBTAINED THERE IS SOME INTERNAL ADL DOCUMENTS CONCERNING ADL'S EFFORTS TO OBTAIN CONFIDENTIAL LAW ENFORCEMENT INFORMATION FROM THE PORTLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT. SFPD NOTED IN THE SAN FRANCISCO ADL OFFICE NUMEROUS INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS WHICH WERE WRITTEN BY SUBJECT [REDACTED] (AND SIGNED USING HIS CODE NAME [REDACTED]. SFPD REVIEWED THOSE, AND SEIZED THEM ONLY IF THEY APPEARED TO CONTAIN CONFIDENTIAL LAW ENFORCEMENT INFORMATION. SFPD OBSERVED, HOWEVER, THAT THE ADL HAD TAKEN THE TROUBLE TO TRY TO INK OUT OR OTHERWISE OBSCURE THE NAME [REDACTED] FROM THE REPORTS.

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NOTED BY SFPD IN BOTH THE LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO ADL OFFICES WERE FILES ON A NUMBER OF PROMINENT PEOPLE. INCLUDED WERE FILES ON MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS, OTHER CALIFORNIA AND NATIONAL POLITICAL FIGURES, AND ENTERTAINERS. SOME OF THESE FILES WERE SEIZED BY SFPD.

THE SAN FRANCISCO DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE IS UNSEALING THE AFFIDAVITS USED TO OBTAIN THE ABOVE SEARCH WARRANTS. SINCE, AS STATED ABOVE, THESE AFFIDAVITS CONTAIN SOME FBI INFORMATION, RECIPIENTS MAY BE ALERT FOR ADDITIONAL REQUESTS

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FOR INFORMATION BY THE MEDIA AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL SEEK TO OBTAIN MORE DETAILS ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE ABOVE SEARCHES, AND WILL DISSEMINATE PERTINENT RESULTS.

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ADL tries damage control

Reports of national spy network denied

By Ron Soble
Daily News Staff Writer

In an effort to control damage to its reputation as a watchdog of hate groups, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith officials denied Friday that the organization is directing a national spy network.

"ADL does not run a nationwide spy network of operatives who run around and collect information from law enforcement officials or otherwise," said Barbara S. Wahl, the organization's chief counsel, in an interview Friday.

"Ninety-nine percent of the information we get is publicly available," she said.

The issue of ADL operatives gathering covert information surfaced in a lengthy affidavit released last week by the San Francisco District Attorney's Office.

The document laid out a road map of intrigue involving the FBI and the San Francisco Police Department. Both agencies are investigating accusations that art dealer and longtime ADL investigator Roy Bullock and former police Officer Tom Gerard gathered confidential information from police and government files.

According to the document and prosecutors, the information on individuals and organizations ranging across the political spectrum ended up in ADL files.

According to court documents, the ADL for years disguised payments to Bullock, its West Coast operative, by funneling payments through Beverly Hills attorney Bruce I. Hochman, a former president of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles.

In the course of its investigation, San Francisco police have twice searched ADL offices in that city and Los Angeles, the last time last

See ADL / Page 8

Officials defend ADL files

ADL / From Page 4

week, officials said.

According to court documents, questions are being raised about the legality of the ADL's information-gathering methods.

The Washington, D.C.-based Wahl and the ADL's national chairman, Melvin Salberg of New York, flew to California this week to counter stories that the ADL maintains covert operations in a number of American cities, particularly San Francisco and Los Angeles.

The ADL, founded in 1913, is known for its efforts to combat anti-Semitism and other hate crimes. The New York-based group has a staff of about 400 and an annual budget of about \$32 million, according to Salberg.

On Friday, ADL officials met with reporters to defend the role of their organization in gathering information.

ADL attorney Wahl said that the organization does keep files, but that there is nothing particularly clandestine about them. "We have files just like any ongoing business," she said.

At the same time, she said: "We also have tipsters who provide information on an anonymous basis. . . . We cannot talk about sources just like journalists cannot talk about sources."

She called Bullock "an independent contractor (who received) payments through Hochman" to protect Bullock's anonymity.

Salberg recalled meeting with San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith and his staff about six weeks ago, and said that he was "assured that ADL was not a target of the (District Attorney's) investigation."

Now, said Salberg and Wahl, it appears that ADL is a target of the investigation.

"We had no idea this was coming," Salberg said.

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ADL: Officials Deny Spying Was Condoned

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seven major cities across the country. No charges have been brought in the case and the investigation is continuing.

Last week, prosecutors released a lengthy police interview with Bullock in which he said he had been an investigator for the ADL for nearly 40 years. His payment—currently \$550 a week—was funneled through a Beverly Hills attorney who is honorary vice chairman of the ADL's Southern California region, according to police files.

Until now, Anti-Defamation League officials have not been willing to acknowledge that Bullock worked for them. But Friday, Wahl and National Chairman Melvin Salberg said that Bullock was an independent contractor for the organization.

They said he gathered intelligence on his own with little supervision, and they contended that the files seized by police from Bullock's home were not Anti-Defamation League records.

"He's never been instructed, nor did we condone his breaking of the law," Wahl said. "We don't know if he did. We had no knowledge of him going through the trash [of target groups] and we certainly wouldn't have encouraged him to do that kind of thing."

The office of San Francisco Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith, however, maintains that Bullock was an ADL employee who collected the information on behalf of the organization. Prosecutors consider the documents seized from his home to be ADL files and note that many copies of his data were found in ADL offices.

Bullock has long been one of the ADL's best investigators, Wahl said, and was recently dispatched to Germany to investigate the skinhead movement there.

"He was damn good. He continues to do good work," she said. "I liken him to a kind of information junkie who seems to have sucked up everything he found and put reports into computers. And whether they were ever used again, who knows?"

The ADL has a "small number of investigators" based around the United States operating on the same basis as Bullock, Wahl said. She would not discuss any details of the intelligence-gathering operation but said it does not constitute a "nationwide spy network."

Bullock and former San Francisco Police Officer

Tom Gerard have been accused of providing intelligence information from Anti-Defamation League files to agents of the South African government, but Wahl said that had nothing to do with the ADL.

She acknowledged that on occasion the organization provides information to Israel but otherwise does not have any dealings with foreign governments. "We have no formal relationship or even informal ongoing relationship with any foreign country," she said.

Wahl questioned why the Anti-Defamation League has become a target of the investigation when others, including police officers who allegedly passed information to Bullock, have not been targeted. "It seems to us that the ADL is really a very bit player in this drama that's unfolding in San Francisco and we have lots of questions as to why we're being targeted," she said.

Salberg, whose offices are in New York, added, "It find it difficult, extremely difficult and painful to view what is going on in San Francisco without asking: Why is this happening? What's the motivation?"

In San Francisco, Dist. Atty. Smith said Friday the Anti-Defamation League is just one of the targets in the probe.

"From the beginning, Gerard and Bullock have been the central focus of this investigation," he said. "However, you take your investigation where the facts lead you."

Smith said his office may not have the authority to pursue allegations against police officers outside of San Francisco, but evidence of alleged misconduct has been passed on to the appropriate agencies, including the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department.

Investigators have accused the Anti-Defamation League of withholding documents during a voluntary search last fall. Police said they used search warrants and found the items in a search of ADL offices last week in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Wahl insisted that the organization is cooperating and would provide any documents requested by prosecutors. "It is wrong. It is dead wrong. It is erroneous. It is false," she said. "There is not one thing they asked for that we failed to provide them."

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ADL Officials Deny They Condoned Illegal Spying

■ Inquiry: But the organization acknowledges having investigator on payroll: An internal probe is under way

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK
and KENNETH REICH
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

Mounting their first detailed defense against allegations of illegal spying, officials of the Anti-Defamation League sought Friday to distance themselves from a controversial longtime investigator but acknowledged they were still paying him because he is "damn good."

Barbara S. Wahl, attorney for the Jewish civil rights group, also said the organization is conducting its own investigation into charges that the San Francisco operative, Roy Bullock, illegally spied on a wide range of political activists and organizations.

switch? Wahl said in an interview. "I don't know, but we're going to look."

The Anti-Defamation League, established 80 years ago to combat anti-Semitism and bigotry, has been racked by allegations that Bullock collected information illegally from law enforcement sources on at least 1,394 people. By monitoring various publications, working under cover and looking through trash cans, Bullock amassed files on nearly 10,000 people and more than 950 political groups.

San Francisco authorities allege that Bullock was part of an intelligence network operated by the Anti-Defamation League in at least

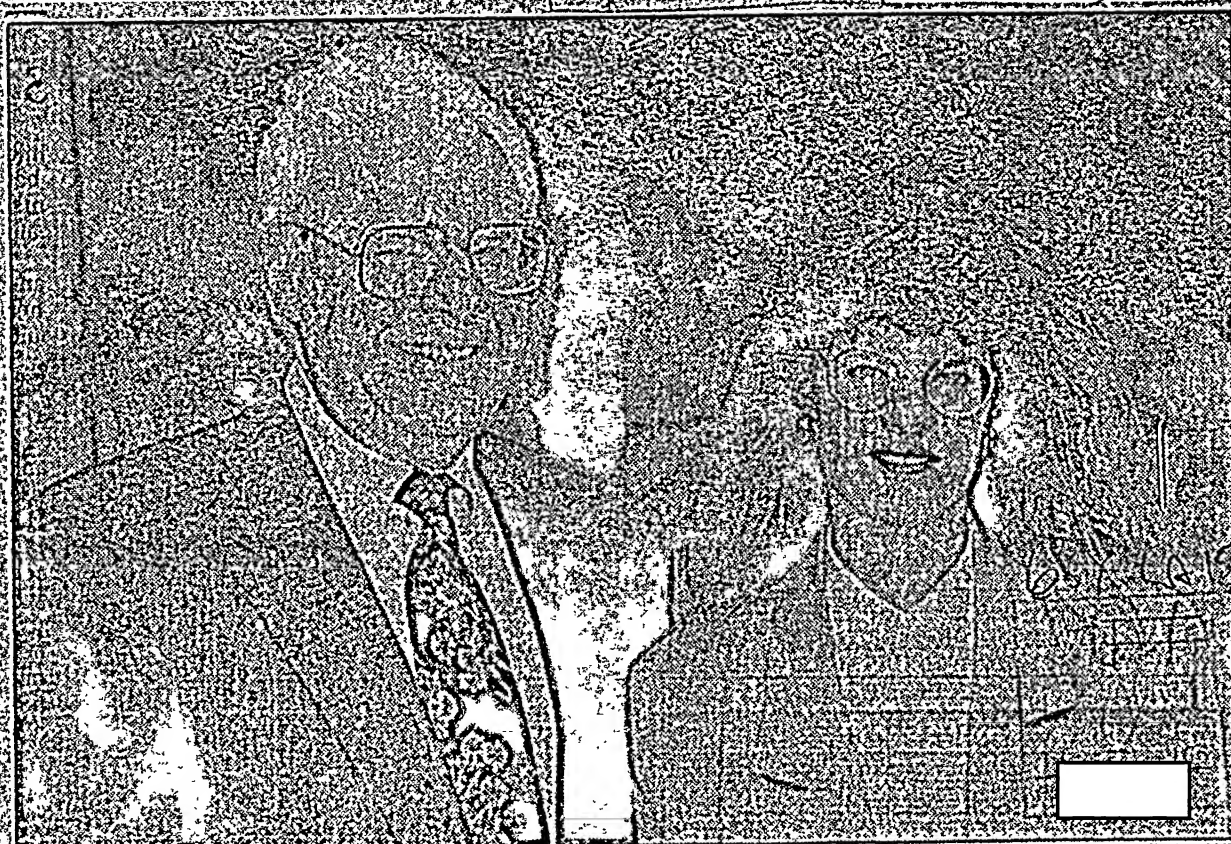
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(date) (date)

Information concerning: (Include DRUG MATTERS here.)

PFLP Deportation Trial In Los Angeles

3 page San Francisco memo dated 3/30/93 Re LAPD Det [REDACTED]

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Information furnished from File, Serial, and Page Number: 197-LA-105303

☒ On 4/7/93 a continuing disclosure was initiated with
(date)LAPD ATD and will be maintained until the
(agency)
conclusion of the investigation.

Information furnished to: Detective [REDACTED]

Remarks:

1. San Francisco, District Attorney, Letter dated March 30, 1993 with San Francisco Police Department memorandum dated March 26, 1993 by Inspector [REDACTED] to captain [REDACTED]

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SA [REDACTED]

Employee Furnishing Information

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[REDACTED]

DISTRICT ATTORNEY

[REDACTED]
DISTRICT ATTORNEY



ROBERT M. PODESTA
CHIEF ASSISTANT
DISTRICT ATTORNEY

SAN FRANCISCO

880 BRYANT STREET, SAN FRANCISCO 94103 TEL. (415) 553-1752

March 30, 1993

[REDACTED]
San Francisco, CA 94110

[REDACTED]
U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service
Litigation Unit
300 North Los Angeles St., Rm. 8504
Los Angeles, CA 90012

RE: ADL INVESTIGATION

Gentlemen:

In the course of an ongoing investigation, the attached San Francisco Police Department memorandum has come to my attention. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please contact me.

Very truly yours,

[REDACTED]
~~DISTRICT ATTORNEY~~

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Attorney In Charge
Special Prosecutions Unit
732 Brannan Street
San Francisco, CA 94103-4953
(415) 552-6400

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Memorandum

San Francisco Police Department



To: Capt. [redacted]
Commanding Officer
Special Investigation Division

From: Inspector [redacted] #145

Date: Fri. 03/26/93

Subject: Contact With L.A.P.D. Detective [redacted]

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Sir:

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ON 12-1-94

In regards to the [redacted] investigation, SFPD Case #921768428, I received a phone call from a person claiming to be a Detective [redacted] from the Los Angeles Police Department on 12/11/92. [redacted] told me that he worked in the LAPD Anti-Terrorist Unit (A.T.D.). He further stated that he was the LAPD Anti-Defamation League liaison officer. [redacted] said that he had heard that I was in Los Angeles on 12/10/92 and that I in fact searched the L.A. ADL office. To authenticate this call, I asked [redacted] his phone number and his commanding officer's name. [redacted] replied that his number was [redacted] and his commanding officer was Capt. [redacted] with the phone number of [redacted].

In this phone call [redacted] said that he was very interested in the information that was confiscated from the L.A. ADL office and would like to assist me in the investigation. He stated that if possible he would like to come to San Francisco and meet me over dinner or a few drinks so we could discuss the case. At this point I felt that this was highly unusual, as just the day before, I was in Los Angeles, and after asking for assistance from LAPD, Insp. [redacted] and I did not get the expected cooperation that was anticipated (from LAPD). At this point I told [redacted] that I did not need his assistance, to which he said he would call me back another time. I notified Capt. [redacted] of this contact with [redacted].

Since that first call from [redacted] he has called at least three times, each time offering his services to assist me. On each occasion he offered to come up and meet over a meal or drinks to discuss the case.

On 02/23/93 I was contacted by FBI S/A [redacted] who told me that a Federal deportation trial was being conducted in Los Angeles and the eight defendants were suspected of being associated with the suspected terrorist group Popular Front for

the Liberation of Palestine. S/A [] said that attorneys for the defense claimed that these subjects may have been listed in ADL files that were confiscated in a search warrant served at the residence of ADL employee []. I checked the names and found two listed in the files and a third possibly referenced in these [] files. This information was relayed to S/A [] who told me he would contact the U.S. Attorney handling the case. I found out that a Judge Einhorn was hearing this case, and it was alleged that Judge Einhorn was connected to the Anti Defamation League.

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The next day, 02/24/93, [] called my office and left a message. I returned his call on 02/25/93 and left a message in his office. Later that day he called me saying that he was off-duty in Palm Desert. [] began to talk about the L.A. deportation trial and said that he knows Judge Einhorn well and the judge is connected in some way with the ADL. [] told me that Judge Einhorn paged him twice yesterday in regards to this case. [] told me that he knows Judge Einhorn because he had to notify the judge about a veiled threat against him. [] said that in this threat someone on the [] W.A.R. hotline made reference to the judge. [] said that in his duties in the Anti-Terrorist Unit he routinely investigates threats such as these. In his recent conversation with Judge Einhorn, the judge told [] in reference to his ties with the ADL: "I consider myself quite the Nazi hunter".

After the this conversation with [] I notified Asst. D.A. []. On 03/17/93 investigators from LAPD came and met with our office on this investigation. At that time I notified Lt. [] Det. [] and Det. [] (all from LAPD) of the above developments. It is recommended that this information be forwarded to the U.S. Attorney's Office and LAPD.

Respectfully Submitted,

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Anti-Defamation League Spying

■ When I heard about the spy operations of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), I didn't think much of it at first. That is until I received a letter earlier this month from the San Francisco Police Department informing me that files under my name were confiscated from the home of a police officer recruited by the ADL.

In targeting Arabs and Muslims indiscriminately and without any reasonable cause, the ADL has shown itself to be a paranoid organization bent on creating enemies to justify its own existence. Many of us who are on the ADL list have long worked to alleviate the mistrust that exists between Muslims and Jews, and have worked hand in hand with them on common causes, including the ADL-sponsored "A World of Difference" campaign. Personally, I feel stabbed in the back. This is an organization dedicated to fighting discrimination?

It is ironic that the ADL would be spying and keeping files on Arabs and Muslims whom it deems to be hostile or dangerous. Surely the organization is old enough to remember a time when similar lists and files were kept on Jews who were considered to be dangerous as well. It seems that instead of building bridges between Jews and Muslims, the ADL is more interested in tearing them down and building walls.

SHAHED AMANULLAH
Muslim Public Affairs Council
Los Angeles

■ Your editorial "A Line Never to Be Crossed" (April 14) with regard to the Anti-Defamation League was, for the most part, right on target.

As you correctly noted, "it is no surprise that the ADL has kept close tabs on individuals and groups of all stripes that trade in hate or violence. . . ." Indeed, for decades reports of the Anti-Defamation League have served as background material for The Times as well as countless other journalists, legislators and the public.

Where your editorial goes astray is

imputing to the Anti-Defamation League the collecting of information on groups such as the NAACP, television station KQED, Times correspondent Scott Kraft, et al. In the frenzy to report allegations and information from an affidavit made public by the San Francisco district attorney's office, few reporters have bothered to distinguish between material from the files of the Anti-Defamation League and that taken from the homes of Roy Bullock and Tom Gerard.

In fact the files on the NAACP, KQED, Greenpeace, Scott Kraft, etc., were not ADL files. We have never investigated such responsible and respected organizations and individuals. As we have made clear, to your reporters and to others, ADL has not passed any information to the government in South Africa at any time, nor have we ever instructed anyone else to do so on our behalf.

Your concerns about misuse of information are our concerns. For 80 years we have worked to live up to our mandate to "stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens alike."

We have never been successfully sued for libel, defamation, or in any other way violating the trust of the American people that we have assiduously earned.

You can be assured that ADL has never and will never cross the line that "separates gathering information on defamers and gathering information that could be used to embarrass or defame others."

DAVID A. LEHRER
Regional Director
Anti-Defamation League
Los Angeles

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

LA TIMES
4/20/93

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Edition: Editorial Page, Letters to editor.

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BULLOCK: ADL Agent Defends Actions

Continued from A3

No charges have been filed in the case, but the district attorney's office has released nearly 700 pages of investigative documents and alleged that the Anti-Defamation League maintained a nationwide intelligence network to gather information on political groups.

The Anti-Defamation League, which has launched a public relations campaign to counter the allegations, denies that its information gathering constitutes a spy network and contends that much of what Bullock did was on his own.

The stocky, brown-haired Bullock told authorities that he began collecting information for the Anti-Defamation League as a volunteer nearly 40 years ago in Indiana. When he moved to California in 1960, the group signed him up as an investigator and has paid him surreptitiously every week for the past 33 years.

Bullock said that over the years he was given specific assignments by the league to infiltrate about 30 Arab-American, right-wing and left-wing groups. Among them were the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, American Nazi Party, John Birch Society and Minutemen.

Infiltrating groups is not difficult, Bullock said, especially the right-wing organizations.

"They live in a dark, restricted world of their own fervent imaginations," he said. "You say you agree and they fall all over you. You don't have to say much."

As a member of the groups, Bullock said, he followed strict rules set by the Anti-Defamation League: never make a proposal for action and never make a statement that could be misconstrued.

Bullock said he generally stayed in the background, said little and did not take part in activities—characteristics that eventually marked him as an informer. But

with an easygoing manner and a good sense of humor, he often was accepted for years.

Bullock, 58, acknowledged that such activities made him a spy, but said he prefers to think of himself as an investigator. With a great appetite for information, he worked steadily over the years gathering other information that might someday be useful to the Anti-Defamation League.

"I love research," said Bullock, who is paid \$550 a week by the Anti-Defamation League.

He scanned obscure publications, attended demonstrations and listened to speeches, making note of people who might be of concern to the league. He also collected confidential information about many of these people from police sources around the West.

In this way, he amassed files in his computer on more than 950 groups and nearly 10,000 people. He said he passed along some of the data—including confidential police information—to the Anti-Defamation League; he also traded some data to law enforcement agencies for more information.

"Certainly the league wanted me to look at certain individuals or organizations," he said. "But of 10,000 names in the computer, the league might have asked me specifically about 2%."

Prosecutors contend that those files, including information on such groups as Greenpeace, San Francisco television station KQED and Mills College, are the files of the Anti-Defamation League. In a sharp disagreement with authorities, Bullock and the league contend that they are Bullock's personal files.

Bullock said he had begun collecting information on the anti-apartheid movement for the Anti-Defamation League when he and his close friend Gerard were approached by South African agents who wanted to buy information.

Bullock repackaged some of his reports to the Anti-Defamation League, gathered other information from public sources and sold it to the two foreign agents, receiving about \$8,000 over a four-year period.

Bullock told the FBI last year that the Anti-Defamation League had put him in contact with a South African agent. But later he told authorities that he lied about the South African connection to protect Gerard, who made the initial contact, according to San Francisco court files.

Despite his contempt for the "odious" system of apartheid, Bullock said he agreed to provide information to South Africa because he needed the money. "I don't feel I did anything dishonest or underhanded," he said.

Bullock said his work for South Africa was the only time he provided information to any group other than the Anti-Defamation League or a law enforcement agency.

The only time he was paid by a law enforcement agency for information, he said, was when FBI agents gave him \$500—which he used in part to buy them lunch.

In fact, Bullock prides himself on his good working relationship with officers in 10 law enforcement agencies—including the Los Angeles Police Department—who know him as an Anti-Defamation League investigator and trade information with him.

* WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1993 A3

Infiltrated 30 Groups, ADL Figure Says

■ Spying: Roy Bullock admits selling information to South Africa was wrong but insists he never acted dishonestly

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—Roy Bullock, the controversial West Coast investigator for the Anti-Defamation League, said Tuesday that he infiltrated about 30 political groups as part of his duties but never did anything dishonest or underhanded.

In his first detailed press interview, Bullock acknowledged that it was a mistake for him to sell information on the side to South Africa—including a report on liberal Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Berkeley). "It was not the most political thing to do," he said.

Engaging, well-spoken and modest, Bullock revealed some of his tricks for infiltrating right-wing organizations and said he gathered information on nearly 10,000 people in a personal quest to fight bigotry and anti-Semitism. "I believed in what I was doing," he said.

But, stung by charges of illegal spying, Bullock questioned why he and the Anti-Defamation League are the subjects of a criminal investigation by San Francisco authorities—especially given his long history of working closely with police departments up and down the state.

"This case has been more a campaign of vilification," he said. "Why are they doing it? Why? Why? Why?"

San Francisco Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith is investigating whether Bullock and officials of the Anti-Defamation League violated state law by collecting confidential information on at least 1,394 political activists and private citizens.

Authorities also are looking into former San Francisco Police Officer Tom Gerard, who allegedly provided Bullock with restricted information, including home addresses, physical descriptions, vehicle information and criminal histories. Gerard fled to the Philippines last fall after he was questioned by the FBI.

Please see **BULLOCK, A16**

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where laws could have been violated — is wild."

San Diego lawyer and University of California regent John G. Davies of Morgan, Lewis & Bockius said any suggestion Hochman was mixed up in illegal intelligence gathering is preposterous.

"I've been in meeting after meeting with Bruce from 1983 through 1992," said Davies, who coordinated federal judicial nominations for former Sens. Wilson and John Seymour. "I have the highest regard for his competence and integrity."

But the Los Angeles criminal defense lawyer who knows Hochman well, but who asked not to be identified, said he isn't surprised.

"He'd do it in a minute," said the lawyer, who described Hochman as having an "avuncular" style. "He is kind of a know-it-all, smarter than anyone else."

Several close associates of Hochman's did not return telephone messages seeking comment. They include Judge Real who worked with Hochman at the U.S. attorney's office; U.S. District Judge Steven Wilson, a former law partner nominated for the federal bench by Gov. Wilson; and attorneys Martin Gelsand and Brian Hennigan, who recently left Hochman's firm — Hochman, Salkin and DeRoy Inc. of Beverly Hills.

Limited Contact

The documents released in the case suggest Hochman has had limited contact with investigators since his name surfaced during an FBI interview with Bullock Jan. 25 and Jan. 26.

According to one page of handwritten notes made by an investigator during a March 1 telephone conversation with Hochman, he said he never met Bullock in person; that the payments were funneled through a personal account of his, and that his law partners knew nothing of the enterprise.

"Roy [Bullock] would penetrate organizations and needed this arrangement to be distanced from ADL," the investigator reported Hochman said.

Hochman also sent San Francisco Police Inspector Ron Roth a three-line letter dated April 1 and a copy of an ADL check for \$3,300 written to Hochman. The letter states that the money is to pay for Bullock's services during April and May.

Dwyer said bank records relating to the accounts used to pay Bullock were collected in a second round of search warrants executed in San Francisco and Los Angeles this month.

Though Hochman is a staunch supporter of the ADL's efforts to combat racism and anti-Semitism, he is not likely to hold back information as the investigation's spotlight turns on him, if past statements are any indication.

In 1985, when the Jewish Council Federation he headed was planning to beef up the group's newspaper, he swore it would maintain its editorial independence, even if the Jewish philanthropic and social-service groups it covers were to come in for criticism.

"It'll take a few months to cross the t's and dot the i's, but if the federation or one of its agencies or beneficiaries is to be criticized, it will be criticized, and nobody could call me to call off the dogs," he told the Los Angeles Times.

Legal Powerbroker Surfaces in 'Spy' Case

Continued from Page 1

The arrangement — in which the ADL deposited money in a bank account controlled by Hochman, and Hochman wrote checks to Bullock — amounted to thousands of dollars a year. Since 1985 alone, Bullock received \$167,175, according to the documents released April 8 by the San Francisco district attorney.

John Dwyer, the assistant San Francisco district attorney who is the lead county prosecutor on the case, said Hochman is not likely to face any criminal charges and is potentially a key witness.

"He is not a suspect, and he has been very cooperative," Dwyer said.

Hochman has not returned several phone calls seeking comment.

An attorney for the ADL in San Francisco said there is no evidence the organization or Hochman had any knowledge Bullock was illegally acquiring or selling information.

"There is nothing that I see that indicates what Bruce Hochman did in any way violates any laws," attorney Jerrold Ladar said.

Among Bullock's activities Ladar disavowed was Bullock's admitted peddling of information to South African agents — much of it related to anti-apartheid groups, but some of it as peculiar and seemingly useless as items taken from a newspaper column about Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu's relationship to San Francisco lawyer Melvin Belli and Belli's ex-wife, Lia.

Ladar's comments were among a spate of statements to reporters late last week that were the ADL's first official comment on the controversy. Group officials acknowledged Bullock was employed as "an independent contractor" by the 80-year-old Jewish defense and civil rights group, but portrayed him as a rogue who strayed far from his assignment, collecting information that was of no interest to the ADL.

The focus of the criminal probe, which became public in January, is on ADL operatives illegally obtaining law enforcement information from local police agencies and on the police officers who supplied it.

Law Enforcement Links Probed

The ADL-Hochman link to Bullock, 58, and Bullock's dealings with a San Francisco police intelligence officer, Tom Gerard, 50, who has fled to the Philippines, is considered the prototype of the kind of operation authorities are pursuing nationwide, Dwyer said.

The documents released this month — affidavits, interview transcripts, bank records and letters relating to search warrants executed in the Bay Area and Los Angeles — name ADL officials, spies and informants, and local police officers in San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Portland, Ore., Chicago, New York, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta.

"One piece of information sends us in a dozen new directions," Dwyer said.

As the investigation unfolds, however, the ADL and such influential members as Hochman, an honorary national vice president, are sure to face tough questions about the group's intelligence gathering, regardless of whether any criminal charges are filed.

Toronto-born Bruce Irwin Hochman received his undergraduate and law de-

grees from the University of California at Los Angeles before joining the U.S. attorney's office in the early 1950s.

As an attorney, however, he began building his reputation a few years later, after he set up shop as a tax and defense lawyer in Beverly Hills — before it became a fashionable business address — and started representing people accused of financial or tax-related crimes.

"He minted money from the start," said one Los Angeles criminal defense lawyer who knows Hochman well. "For years now, he has had the right of first refusal on any tax-fraud case coming down the pike."

In a recent case that drew attention, Hochman defended an Imperial County farmer who paid \$650,000 in bribes to an Internal Revenue Service auditor as part of a scheme to evade \$10 million in taxes.

In 1991, he handled appeals for an investment banker whose company underwrote a \$300 million tax-exempt housing bond issue for the Guam Economic Development Authority. The IRS determined that the debt was sold solely to generate fees and arbitrage, not to build housing.

During the late 1980s, his clients included composer Dominic Frontiere, husband of Los Angeles Rams owner Georgia Frontiere; an Encino real estate developer who fraudulently inflated the value of land sold to the National Park Service; and a North Hollywood businessman who ran a bogus tax-shelter investment plan with thousands of investors, including major-league baseball players.

Wide Influence

And Hochman's successes as a private attorney and fund-raiser won him broad influence in legal and Jewish circles.

Among his posts and appointments: Sen. Wilson's committee that helped pick a record number of federal judges for the Central District of California during the Reagan presidency; Chief U.S. District Judge Manuel Real's standing committee on discipline; regional president of the ADL office for most of Southern California and Nevada; president of the umbrella organization Jewish Council Federation of Greater Los Angeles.

"There are very few people in the county of Los Angeles that command the respect Bruce does," said Los Angeles lawyer Sheldon Sloan of Resch Polster Alpert & Berger. "And as for the Jewish community, if there is anybody who could speak for it, Bruce could."

News of Hochman's role in the ADL's link to Bullock, who described himself in court papers as an ADL "spymaster," has generated reactions ranging from shock to bemusement within the Southern California legal community.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Phillip L.B. Halpern, who squared off against Hochman in the 1992 tax-bribery case involving the Imperial County farmer, said he was astounded.

"To suggest he was involved . . . is a great surprise," said Halpern, who described Hochman as an amiable insider adept at presenting his client's case to the government in the best light to try to head off prosecutions. "He is very precise and thorough. To think he would knowingly get involved in something like that —

DAILY
JOURNAL
4/21/93

In the Middle

Legal Powerbroker Surfaces in ADL 'Spy' Case

By Charles Finnie
Daily Journal Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO — As a lone Democrat on Republican Sen. Pete Wilson's eight-member advisory committee for federal court appointments, Beverly Hills attorney Bruce Hochman was a kingmaker of sorts within California's legal community during the 1980s.

For even longer, as an officer and fund-raiser for organizations such as the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Hochman, a top tax and criminal law specialist, carried considerable clout within Jewish and pro-Israel circles.

But a decision he participated in about 30 years ago as regional president of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith — to place a domestic operative by the name of Roy Bullock on the ADL's payroll and serve as the financial link between Bullock and the ADL — has come home to roost, putting the 64-year-old lawyer at the center of a controversy that threatens the ADL's special standing as an ardent foe of anti-Semitism and friend of U.S. law enforcement.

More than 700 pages of recently released documents relating to a criminal probe of the ADL's nationwide information-gathering network spell out how Bullock, a San Francisco art dealer with the code name

"Cal," eavesdropped, spied and obtained from local police privileged, personal information on thousands of individuals and organizations across the political spectrum.

To be sure, Bullock's initial targets were racists and anti-Semites. But they expanded to include a variety of people and organizations such as former Bay Area Republican Rep. Pete McCloskey, Arab-American groups, Earth Island Institute, Mother Jones magazine and Jews for Jesus. Bullock also gathered information on an array of legal organizations such as the National Lawyers' Guild, American Civil Liberties Union and Asian Law Caucus.

'A Contract Worker'

"From very early in 1960, when I started getting pay, I got paid by him," Bullock said of Hochman in a January interview with FBI agents. "That way the league would not be officially connected with me."

"Officially I'm a contract worker with Bruce Hochman. Now the reason for this [is] because in that period I was very active in penetrating the American Nazi Party . . . you name it, a large variety of anti-democratic groups, left and right."

See Page 4 — POWERBROKER



IN THE SPOTLIGHT — Bruce Hochman, a tax lawyer and criminal defense specialist with a Beverly Hills firm, allegedly paid on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith the investigator who spied on various organizations.

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LA TIMES

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Anti-Defamation League Activities

In an article on the "ADL spy network" (April 17), the regional director of the Anti-Defamation League was quoted as saying that the ADL has a "right to educate the public about what critics of Israel say and write." What he is implying is that Americans who criticize Israel are suspect.

I challenge the ADL to educate the public about what many respected and credible Jewish critics of Israel say and write. Many Israelis and American Jews are working hard to bring self-respect to Israel, to pull it out of the scandal of its human rights violations and flouting of international law.

In your editorial (April 14), you appropriately acknowledged the ADL's good works in combatting racism, and we join you in that. Then you went on to express your understanding of why the ADL would surveil such groups as the KKK and the White Aryan Resistance but gently scolded them for collecting information on respectable organizations such as the NAACP, Greenpeace, and the United Farm Workers, plus several members of Congress.

In the files seized by police from the ADL's offices, 4,500 of the 12,000 names contained in those files were names of Arab-Americans—clearly the principal target of the ADL's politically motivated spying. Yet, in your listing of the "good guys," Arab-Americans were conspicuously absent. Can you imagine how offensive and dangerous your implication is? While I would assume it was inadvertent, you have many readers who might not.

DONALD S. BUSTANY, President
American Arab Anti-Discrimination
Committee, Los Angeles

We members of the Cousins Club of Orange County long admired the Anti-Defamation League for its purported purpose of exposing individuals and groups who threaten the ideals of our democratic American society. Our organization is based on principles of understanding the needs and yearnings of two disparate peoples closely related in their quest for peace, and searching for solutions related to the strug-

gles and strivings of their respective in Israel/Palestine. Knowing we can flourish best in an open and free society, we are especially sensitive to any activities which threaten or inhibit such freedom.

Our members have long held the ADL in high esteem, above petty partisanship and beyond immediate expediencies, such as those manifested by seemingly less idealistic organizations. We therefore are distressed to learn of alleged long-term activities of the ADL in its compilation of lists of people whose opinions were not in accordance with their own. We are especially disturbed to learn of covert sales of these lists to the foreign governments of Israel and South Africa.

We Cousins Club members who are Jewish-Americans were particularly proud of an organization which we thought spoke for the entire Jewish community in its stated goals of exposing those whose purposes are antithetical to the welfare of both Jews and non-Jews. Those of us who are Palestinian-Americans also held the ADL in high esteem, even using it as a model of integrity upon which the Arab Anti-Discrimination League is based. Our disillusionment and despair are therefore made more acute by recent disclosures of alleged secret activities of the ADL, which emulate organizations such as the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan.

We urge the U.S. government to thoroughly investigate these alleged covert activities. Further, we urge that the ADL make full disclosure of its secret agenda, promising it will cease and desist from such activities in the future.

ROSE MENDELSON SAMUELSON
Cousins Club, Buena Park

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TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

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UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION
LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU SENSITIVE
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OO: LOS ANGELES

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Enclosed for recipients is a copy of an airtel and
an LHM dated 1/14/88, titled Nation of Islam.

Title marked changed to reflect the change in
character of information in the title from Bureau classified
to Bureau sensitive. Title previously carried as UNSUBS;
Unidentified Individuals at the Anti-Defamation League (ADL)
in Possession of Bureau classified information; ESP-X; OO:
Los Angeles.

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- 2 - San Francisco (Encl. 1)
- 2 - Los Angeles

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BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 3/14/93

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Reference telephone call between SSA [] and Los Angeles on 4/14/93. Reference San Francisco airtel dated (U) 3/15/93, [(247A-SF-89192)] (S)

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Referenced conversation discussed the change in title as indicated above, with SSA [] concurring with the title change as indicated. Referenced airtel requested a copy of document as contained within FBI files be provided to San Francisco.

For information of recipients, title has been changed to reflect the fact that the document found in the possession of the ADL was sensitive in nature, as it contained Bureau source information. Although contained within a classified file, the document itself was not classified.

Attached as enclosure is a copy of the document in question. It should be noted that the copy found in possession of the ADL had all T symbols blacked out, and did not include the cover airtel or the title page of the LHM.

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D.A. Seeks Counsel of Arab-Americans

By KENNETH REICH
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Dist. Atty. Gil Garcetti, in a get-acquainted meeting with 20 representatives of Los Angeles County's Arab-American community, promised Monday to be "extremely vigilant" against illegal spying on any minority group and said he wants to increase the number of Arab-American lawyers in his office.

Garcetti urged those attending at the Islamic Center of Southern California to advise him on what he can do to help bring their ethnic group into the mainstream.

But when the Los Angeles County district attorney characterized Arab-Americans as, in the past, "truly a silent group, much like gays and lesbians," two people chided him gently.

Wasfy W. Shindy, deputy director of the county's Environmental Toxicology Bureau, said that Arab-Americans long have had many

contacts with the county supervisors and other local officials. And Maher Hathout, chairman of the Islamic Center, said: "We are too far out of the closet" to be considered silent.

Several people pressed him for details on how his office will cooperate with an inquiry by the San Francisco district attorney into alleged spying on Arab-Americans and others by the Anti-Defamation League, a Jewish group.

Garcetti said he would be "constrained in some of my answers" because he did not want to read his comments in the newspaper.

But he added: "There is not a person in this room who is not offended by the type of spying that has been alleged," such as the possible illegal purchase of police undercover information.

When Garcetti was asked how many Arab-Americans he has on his staff of nearly 1,000 lawyers, he said he knew of two. But he estimated that there may be six to

10. He noted that through intermarriage some people of Arab descent do not have Arab surnames.

"I want more Arab-American lawyers," the district attorney said. "But I can't be locked into commitments of proportionality."

Garcetti noted that while working as a deputy in the district attorney's office earlier in his legal career, he organized a minority recruitment program. He noted that he is of mixed ethnic descent himself, with a grandfather who was Italian, a grandmother who was an Aztec Indian and a mother who was a Mexican national.

He grew up in a home where Spanish was spoken, his wife is Jewish and his children are uncertain how to describe themselves ethnically, Garcetti said.

"As district attorney, I have a responsibility to see there is justice in the whole community," he added.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES

A4 TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 1993

Italy's Top Banker Heads Transi

By BOB DROGIN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PALAWAN, Philippine Gerard, the former San Francisco officer who fled here after passing confidential files to the Information League, enjoyed a piece of the world, for he traveled the world, for the Intelligence Agency.

Among the many passport, fake identity papers that the undercover CIA agent from 1985 were five documents, as Thomas P. Clouseau—a Clouseau, the bumbling Fr in the Pink Panther films.

"I'm still surprised Central the agency let that one slip to with a laugh. A little joke or

But the 50-year-old former Francisco police inspector playing games. He says he

Politics: Respected
72-year-old says he will appoint a new Cabinet today without consulting nation's parties.

By WILLIAM D. MONTALBANO
TIMES STAFF WRITER

ROME—Unable to reconcile the demands of bickering political parties, Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro on Monday asked the country's top banker to head a transition government to adopt electoral reform and schedule new elections.

Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, 72, the prestigious head of the Bank of Italy, accepted the offer to quickly form a government, avoiding any vacuum of power. The new Cabinet

formal party support and therefore no nominal majority in Parliament.

His political footing may therefore be shaky, but Ciampi won quick support in the marketplace Monday. The stock market rose in Milan, and the lira firmed against foreign currencies.

In naming Ciampi to head Italy's 52nd postwar government, Scalfaro sought a figure who could rule stably and with economic authority until national elections are held under new electoral rules—perhaps in the fall.

The choice of Ciampi, who has worked for Italy's central bank since 1946 and has been its president since 1979, was a clear signal that Italy will pursue the economic rationalization of the outgoing government of Prime Minister Giuliano Amato.

Decimated by scandal, the 10-month Amato government never

the hard-line anti that were one of the successes of Amato's support continuing investigations.

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In political circle, Ciampi's appointment won support from the dominant Christian and their Socialist allies. The less than 100-member party accused Ciampi of economic policy. The autumn was forced

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LOS ANGELES TIMES

TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 1993 A3

California and the West

Ex-Spy Threatens CIA Scandal

By BOB DROGIN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PALAWAN, Philippines—Thomas J. Gerard, the former San Francisco police officer who fled here after being accused of passing confidential files to the Anti-Defamation League, enjoyed a private prank as he traveled the world for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Among the many passports and other fake identity papers that he used as an undercover CIA agent from 1982 through 1985 were five documents identifying him as Thomas P. Clouseau—as in, Inspector Clouseau, the bumbling French detective in the Pink Panther films.

"I'm still surprised Central Cover staff at the agency let that one slip by," Gerard said with a laugh. "A little joke on the agency."

But the 60-year-old former spy, now San Francisco police inspector, is no longer playing games. He says he will blow the

■ **Intelligence:** From Philippine island where he fled, Thomas J. Gerard says he will expose the agency's work with Latin American death squads if he is indicted for selling information to a Jewish group.

whistle on what he calls illegal CIA support of Central American death squads if he is indicted and tried for his suspected role in a growing California-based scandal over a nationwide intelligence network run largely on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League.

Gerard detailed his charges against the CIA in a three-hour interview on this jungle-clad southern Philippine island, where he fled Oct. 25. He said much of the proof is contained in a black American Tourister briefcase seized by San Francisco police from his gym locker there.

According to a police inventory, the bag

contained not only Gerard's collection of false identity papers in 10 names, but a CIA cable marked "Secret," apparent CIA interrogation manuals, photographs of chained and blindfolded men, and a black executioner-style hood.

All are proof, Gerard said, that the CIA was directly involved in the training and support of torturers and death squads operating in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala during the mid-1980s. He said he quit the agency in late 1985 because he could not stomach what he witnessed there.

"This was not good guys versus bad

guys," he said heatedly. "This was evil, evil, evil. This was something the devil himself is involved in. And I wanted no part of it."

The CIA's following practice has refused to confirm that Gerard was a staff employee. The agency has repeatedly denied direct support of the right-wing death squads, which tortured and murdered thousands of political opponents, clergy, union members and peasants in bloody counterinsurgency campaigns in the three Central American countries in the mid-1980s.

But Gerard said a Manila envelope

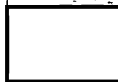
inventoried by San Francisco police and labeled "Interrogation Training Farm, Prison 1984," is from a CIA training camp outside Williamsburg, Va.

Four envelopes in the bag were labeled "D.S.," which Gerard said refers to death squads. One includes a paper labeled "Secret: Bodily of the Nominees to be Trained in Human Resource Exploitation (Interrogation), Course," with 113 names listed. Another envelope contains a green-covered book with more than 100 pages on the subject of "interrogations" that Gerard said was from the CIA.

Another envelope contains what Gerard said is a secret cable from the CIA station chief in San Salvador, responding to a query from CIA headquarters in Langley on alleged human rights abuses.

"It shows they knew what was going on," he said.

Several photos, Gerard said, show CIA. Please see CIA, A21



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CIA: Threat of Scandal

Continued from A3

agents attending interrogations, or posing with death squad members. He denied working with the death squads.

The briefcase also contained a black loose-leaf binder stuffed with business cards, names, addresses and three pages with more than 100 names and phone numbers. The section is titled "International Activities Division-Special Activities Group," according to the police inventory.

"That's the who's who" of the CIA, Gerard said. "Oooh, that's gonna make people nervous. Oooh."

The International Activities Division handles the CIA's paramilitary activities, such as support for guerrilla movements, according to "The U.S. Intelligence Community," a book by Jeffrey Richelson.

When he left the CIA in 1985, Gerard said, he stashed the hood, classified cable, photos and other material in the briefcase in case he ever needed protection from the CIA. "The term is graymail," he said grimly. "Do what you gotta do."

Asked why he was going public, Gerard complained that the FBI and the San Francisco police were trying him in the press by alleging that he gave confidential law enforcement and motor vehicle information to the Anti-Defamation League and sold information to South Africa for thousands of dollars.

Gerard denied any criminal wrongdoing. "I shouldn't say I did no wrong," he said. "I should say I showed poor judgment. . . . But as far as criminal acts, no way."

Police say the Anti-Defamation League, a Jewish civil rights organization, secretly collected information on more than 12,000 individuals and 950 activist groups over the last several decades. The ADL acknowledges that it collects information on groups that are anti-Semitic, extremist or racist, but denies any improper activity.

The case involves Gerard's undercover work after he left the CIA, as a San Francisco police inspector in the department's now disbanded intelligence division. He has not been charged.

Gerard does not deny "snooping and pooping on people in the U.S.," as he put it, and working with Roy Bullock, a small-time San Francisco art dealer who told the FBI he infiltrated right-wing and Arab-American groups and prepared hundreds of secret files for the Anti-Defamation League.

Gerard said he and Bullock routinely rifled through bags of garbage they collected outside the homes of people affiliated with suspect political groups they jokingly classified as "right-wing, left-wing and chicken-wing."

"We were the kings of garbage,"

Gerard said. "I love garbage. Because garbage doesn't lie."

Gerard said he first brought Bullock to the FBI in about 1986 after Bullock provided a file that helped San Francisco police find a deranged neo-Nazi who had bombed synagogues and African-American studies classrooms. Gerard said he told the FBI that Bullock was a secret investigator for the Anti-Defamation League and persuaded them to hire Bullock as a paid informant.

A spokesman for the FBI in San Francisco declined to comment on Gerard's assertion, but detailed court documents indicate that Bullock was a part-time informant for the FBI who collected one payment of \$500. In contrast, Bullock has been paid a regular stipend by the Anti-Defamation League since 1960—now \$550 a week.

Gerard now blames Bullock for setting him up as a fall guy in the investigation. Gerard said that he bought his IBM clone home computer from Bullock several years ago, "and when I got it all the files were already there."

Police, who seized the computer, said the program included files on 7,011 people and political groups, spanning the spectrum from right to left. Gerard expressed amazement at the figure, saying he only thought he had 300 or 400 such files.

"It doesn't matter," he added. "I'm not suggesting I didn't know what was there." He said the files were mostly published information about right-wing groups, including

skinheads, neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. "It doesn't seem unreasonable to me to keep track of some loon who paints swastikas on synagogues," he said.

Bullock's attorney, Bob Breakstone, disputed Gerard's version of events and said it was "ludicrous" to believe that Bullock would enter the files in Gerard's computer without his knowledge. "He asked for it," Breakstone said Friday.

The attorney also said he was disappointed Gerard was trying to blame Bullock, noting that it was Gerard who introduced Bullock to a South African agent who allegedly purchased information from the duo.

"It's sad he has chosen to strike out at Roy, because Roy really likes Tom," Breakstone said.

Gerard also flatly denied Bullock's claim to police that the two began selling information to the South African government in 1987 and split about \$16,000 as payment for providing information on foes of apartheid and journalists, among others.

But he said he helped the South African consul general in Los Angeles several years ago and was given a coffee table book of wildlife photos in thanks.

Gerard said he does not know how or why a file filled with incorrect data on Scott Kraft, the Los Angeles Times correspondent based in South Africa, was apparently taken from his computer and sold to the white-ruled government.

"I don't know anything about that," he said. "I'm not suggesting it wasn't in my computer. I don't know if it was."

Gerard also denied providing Bullock with driver's license records, including photographs, and complete files on various Nazi groups when the city ordered the police intelligence division disbanded and the files destroyed, as Bullock told the FBI.

But Gerard said he did share information from the files. "At the time the intelligence division shut down, there were things we were working on," he said. "That information went forth, not the files themselves."

Gerard was interviewed by FBI agents in San Francisco last October. He said they threatened him with "a lifestyle change" in prison if he did not cooperate. Instead, he hopped a flight to the Philippines, a country with which the United States has no extradition treaty. He sent his retirement papers to the Police Department in November.

Gerard said they also questioned him about overseas bank accounts. "Here's my only foreign bank account," he insisted, showing a Philippine bank passbook opened in March and now containing the peso equivalent of about \$1,200.

He said he earned about \$77,000 last year. That includes, he said, \$10-an-hour stints as a uniformed security guard for Philippine Airlines at the San Francisco International Airport and free-lance fees

for writing articles for two intelligence newsletters published in London and Paris.

He said the FBI is looking at 16 checks in his San Francisco bank account and last week interviewed one of his sons, a Marine, in Hawaii.

He called himself a "victim of circumstance," caught between the CIA, the FBI, the Anti-Defamation League and the San Francisco police. But then he grinned.

"Maybe I'm a good guy," he said. "Maybe I'm a bad guy. Maybe I'm a rogue elephant out of control."

Gerard said he "absolutely, no question" plans to return to Saualito, where he and his wife, Julia, lived on a boat. He showed an open round-trip airline ticket. "People who are fugitives do not buy a round-trip ticket," he said.

In the meantime, Gerard is enjoying his life on Palawan, a rugged, hard-to-reach and heavily jungled island known in the Philippines as "the last frontier." It is about 300 miles south of Manila, and there are few phones or paved roads. Malaria is endemic, and crocodiles are fierce.

"I always loved this clandestine s---," he said. "If you were a spy aficionado, you'd just love going through my stuff. I've collected it for years." Even better, he added his own story "is the kind of thing that sells spy novels."

"Here's a guy who worked for the CIA," he said. "Here's a guy who ran a massive spy network in the U.S. Here's a guy who fled to a distant, Third World country."

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THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1993 A3

California and the West

Spy Furor Forces ADL to Defend Image

■ Prejudice: Jewish rights group tries to allay concerns after allegations that it kept extensive files on individuals and groups, even its allies.

By PAUL FELDMAN and RICHARD C. PADDOCK,
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

For 80 years, the Anti-Defamation League has fought anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice perpetrated by such hatemongers as the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis.

But now, as a result of an ongoing investigation by the San Francisco district attorney's office, the Jewish civil rights organization finds that it must defend itself against allegations that it has abused the civil rights of others.

Faced with a stream of disclosures that its longtime San Francisco-based investigator infiltrated Arab-American groups and other organizations and compiled computer files on nearly 10,000 individuals and

950 organizations—including fellow civil rights groups—the ADL's top brass has embarked on a national damage-control effort with Jewish community organizations.

The informational blitz appears to have allayed the concerns of many Jewish organization leaders and fund-raisers.

"Their record over the years has been a most impressive one of good work," said Terry Bell, president of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles. "[And] most of us remain comfortable in giving them support because of the feeling they have done nothing illegal."

In New York, the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council voiced support last month for the ADL.

Nevertheless, some worry that the image of the ADL, which receives 84% of its \$30-million annual budget from donations, could suffer lasting harm if ADL leaders are charged in the case. Moreover, the controversy has caused fissures in the ADL's relationship with some other civil rights organizations.

In San Francisco, a staff attorney for the Asian Law Caucus withdrew last month from an ADL forum on hate crime laws after court documents revealed that the ADL's investigator, Roy Bullock, had kept a computer file on the caucus under the heading of "pinko" organizations.

"We hope we can continue working with the ADL," said Paul Igasaki, executive director of the caucus, which files litigation in immigrant rights cases. "It's just at this stage we want to hear more information on what's going on. We're looking to the ADL to show that our trust in working with them has not been misplaced."

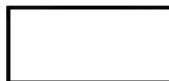
Former Rep. Pete McCloskey, a longtime critic of Israeli policies, has filed a class-action lawsuit on behalf of 19 clients, including Yigal Arens, the son of former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens, who charge that their right to privacy was violated by the ADL and its operatives.

"It's like the kid abused as a child abusing his own child later," said McCloskey, who has been accused by ADL leaders of having a long history of making

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SPY: ADL Defends Image

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anti-Jewish remarks. "Victims of the Holocaust are now stereotyping people into categories based on their ethnic or political views."

Still, officials of several leading mainstream organizations listed in Bullock's files appear to merely be curious about getting to the bottom of the reports.

"I've seen the ADL tackle difficult social issues and generally attempt to protect people's rights, so I'm surprised," Mills College President Janet McKay said. "But I'd like to know more about the relationship between the ADL and the operatives that have been exposed before I make any judgment."

James Williams, national spokesman for the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said, "Certainly, we want to look into the allegations, but at this point we just haven't gotten to it."

In sessions with Jewish community leaders, ADL regional and national officials have termed Bullock—who continues to receive \$550 a week from the ADL—an independent contractor and have vehemently denied knowing that he also supplied information for a fee to the government of South Africa.

In addition, ADL officials have denied ever targeting investigations of such organizations as the NAACP, Greenpeace, Mills College, the Asian Law Caucus or the United Farm Workers—all groups on which Bullock, or former San Francisco Police Officer Tom Gerard, with whom Bullock worked closely, maintained computer files at their homes.

Bullock said that he compiled most of the computer files on his own and that ADL officials only wanted reports on about 2% of the people and groups he kept tabs on. But in interviews with the FBI and San Francisco police, Bullock said ADL officials directed him to infiltrate about 30 Arab-American, right-wing or left-wing groups. He was introduced to Gerard by his supervisor in the San Francisco ADL office, Bullock said.

Bullock said he filed his reports to Richard Hirschhaut, the ADL's executive director in San Francisco, and used a desk in the office. One of his duties was to maintain intelligence files by adding new documents and shredding old files, Bullock said.

San Francisco prosecutors contend that documents and computer data seized at Bullock's home are ADL files and that some of them

were obtained illegally from law enforcement sources. San Francisco police, with search warrants seized boxes of documents from ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles in April but have not publicly disclosed what they found.

San Francisco Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith's office said it will decide whether to file criminal charges against Hirschhaut after further investigation. Prosecutors are looking into whether the ADL received confidential law enforcement files or authorized Bullock to illegally tap into a phone message system run by white supremacists.

Hirschhaut did not return phone calls from The Times, but ADL attorney Barbara S. Wahl said there was no knowing participation in illegal acts by the ADL.

Bullock—whose code name was Cal—has been paid secretly through a Beverly Hills attorney since 1960 to gather information for the ADL. In a case of particular interest to authorities, Bullock said that top ADL intelligence officials approved \$300 in payments to an informant—code-named Scumbag—who infiltrated the White Aryan Resistance.

Scumbag gave the ADL the codes needed to eavesdrop on the white supremacist group's phone messages, Bullock said, adding that reports he wrote went to Hirschhaut and ADL headquarters in New York. Operation Eavesdrop, as it was called in files found in the San Francisco ADL office, enjoyed the cooperation of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, according to police documents.

The ADL, which has 30 regional offices nationwide, has not hidden its information-gathering prowess concerning extremist groups. In lengthy reports made available to the media, police and public, the organization has taken detailed looks at the emergence of neo-Nazi skinheads, Holocaust revisionists and Muslim terrorist organizations.

Its recent study of Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, gleaned mainly from American and Middle Eastern newspaper clippings, was prepared in the wake of the World Trade Center bombing after a flurry of inquiries from news reporters, ADL leaders say.

"We make no secret about whom we're keeping track of," Wahl said. "That's our business...to monitor and expose extremists, anti-Semites, violence-prone groups."

ADL leaders have sought to keep their distance from some of

SPY: Limiting Damage

Continued from A32

Bullock's activities, while continuing to pay him because he is, in Wahl's words, a "damn good" investigator.

"ADL does not maintain a computerized database," Wahl said. "All this stuff floating around about Mills College, Greenpeace, those are [Bullock's] files. Those are not ADL's files."

According to ADL National Director Abraham H. Foxman, the group keeps files on some organizations with which it maintains friendly relations. But there is nothing sinister about those files, he added.

"We have a file on the NAACP—it starts with our brief in support of Brown vs. Board of Education," Foxman said, referring to the ADL's assistance in the landmark 1954 legal case that struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine in the schools.

Melvin Salberg, the ADL's national chairman, said he is concerned that the controversy has dimmed the spotlight on programs such as cult awareness training seminars, drafting of a model hate-crime statute and the filing of briefs in notable civil rights lawsuits.

"If I were dropped into San Francisco from outer space," said Salberg, "I would conclude that ADL is nothing more than a spy organization abusing the rights of individuals."

"We would like to be judged by the media and by American citizens by our record and by what we do."

Indeed, life appears to be moving ahead as usual for the ADL, which was founded in 1913 to combat anti-Jewish prejudice in business, politics, movies and, at the time, vaudeville stage humor.

At the ADL's Pacific Southwest Regional headquarters in West Los Angeles last month, more than 100 Southern California public school teachers turned out for free "World of Difference" human relations clinics.

And at a fund-raising luncheon at the Century Plaza, about 300 donors watched former U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney accept the group's Distinguished Public Service Award.

"Over the years I've had an excellent relationship and a great admiration for the work of your organization," Cheney told the audience. "The controversy that from

organization, that's usually a sign that something significant is happening and that you are making a difference."

Fund-raising activists do not expect the organization's donations to dry up unless startling new revelations show a clear pattern of abuses by the organization's leaders.

"Certainly any time a story gets in the newspaper and people file lawsuits it hurts your image," said attorney Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center, who with ADL help won a \$12.5-million damage award against white supremacist Tom Metzger. "[But] The intentions of the ADL are noble."

Still, some Jewish community leaders wonder whether the ADL may have set itself up for a fall by overextending its definition of anti-Semitism.

Douglas Mirell, an executive board member of the American Jewish Congress in Los Angeles, said that he has no problem with the ADL attempting to infiltrate terrorist groups but that he would take issue with the organization targeting more moderate political organizations.

"I probably disagree with the basic proposition that any critic of Israel is fair game," said Mirell, a veteran civil rights lawyer.

Foxman counters that the ADL is concerned about groups and individuals sympathetic to the Palestine Liberation Organization because it is "out against the Jewish people."

Michael A. Jacobs, chairman of the Jewish Community Relations Council of San Francisco, said the ADL's goals seem to have expanded since the mid-1970s, when it published a book titled "The New Anti-Semitism," which railed against black nationalists, the radical left, pro-Arab groups and even the composers of the musical "Jesus Christ Superstar."

"My personal view is that the label *anti-Semitic* ought not to be thrown around loosely," Jacobs said. "It devalues it and is unfair."

At the same time, Jacobs said the key issue in the San Francisco controversy remains whether the ADL approved the use of improper means to obtain information.

"We ought to give the ADL the benefit of the doubt because of their reputation and not rush to judge the organization," he continued. "But the mere fact they have to focus so much attention on this and be diverted from their prime

Civil liberties group is target of probe

Did B'nai B'rith league break law?

By Jane Meredith Adams
Special to the Tribune

SAN FRANCISCO—In 1954 Roy Bullock, an Indianapolis teenager fascinated by spy stories, wrote a letter to a New York neo-Fascist group to see what he could uncover. When the group responded, Bullock took the information to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and, in turning it over, began a 39-year career as an undercover researcher whose techniques now have led the prominent Jewish organization into a criminal investigation.

More than 700 pages of court documents released this month provide a rare glimpse into the nationwide information-gathering methods of the 80-year-old ADL, which in its mission to combat anti-Semitism and other forms of bigotry long has tracked extremist groups and provided law-enforcement agencies with detailed information.

The San Francisco district attorney's office is investigating whether the ADL, in its efforts to defend the civil liberties of many, may have violated the civil liberties of others by obtaining confidential Registry of Motor Vehicles records, criminal histories and information from police files that were supposed to have been shredded.

No charges have been brought against the ADL, and the investigation is continuing.

In the meantime, former U.S. Rep. Pete McCloskey (R-Calif.) last Wednesday filed a class-action lawsuit in San Francisco Superior Court against the ADL for invasion of privacy on behalf of himself and 18 others whose names appeared in Bullock's database, including the son of former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens.

The civil suit charges that the ADL collected information on opponents of Israeli and South African government policies and passed it on to those countries.

The ADL denied that it is associated with agencies of foreign governments, particularly the Mossad, Israel's intelligence service. The ADL has acknowledged that it pays investigators around the country to report on organizations it suspects of hate crimes, anti-Jewish or anti-

Israel activities, but says it does not condone illegal methods of obtaining information.

The group has launched a review of its procedures.

"We want to be sure ... there is adherence to our principles and our admonitions—that we will only function within the law and we will not condone any violation of the law," said Melvin Salberg, national chairman of the ADL.

Last week officials at the ADL sought to distance the organization from Bullock, now a 58-year-old dealer in Asian art and a zealous information gatherer who kept a database of 10,000 names and 500 organizations on his computer under the headings "Arab," "Pinko," "Right," "Skins" and "ANC" (for African National Congress).

"We knew nothing about the vast extent of the files," said Barbara Wahl, an attorney for the ADL. "Those are not ADL's files. Those are not ADL's terms ... ADL keeps no computerized network of information. That is all Cal's doing," she said, using the ADL's code name for Bullock.

She said that if Bullock also provided information to the FBI and to the South African government, the ADL was unaware of it.

Bullock remains a free-lance investigator for the ADL, Salberg said.

According to court documents, Bullock had counterparts in other cities, including an ex-police officer in Chicago code-named "Chi-3"; someone called "Ironsides" in St. Louis; and "Flipper," an Arab man in Atlanta.

Richard Cohen, legal director of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Ala., which tracks hate crimes in its Klanwatch project, described the ADL as a group highly motivated to gather information and publish reports on groups it perceives as harmful to American Jews.

"They gather information however they can," Cohen said. Like journalists, he added, they welcome disclosures from confidential sources and "they probably rely on their sources to draw the line" about

See League, pg. 22

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what information legally can be given out.

In an interview, Bullock acknowledged that he had crossed that line in obtaining information from former San Francisco police officer Tom Gerard, who traded police files, criminal histories and license-plate numbers in exchange for Bullock's data on extremist groups.

"Boxes of police files that were under court order to be shredded were found in Bullock's apart-

ment. Gerard, the subject of an FBI investigation, fled in November to the Philippines.

"I'm not a police person, so should I have this material?" Bullock asked. "That is a problem, and one I can't personally address."

A heavyset man with a mustache and graying hair, Bullock was a familiar figure to activists in San Francisco, particularly in Palestinian and anti-apartheid circles.

While being paid \$550 a week by the ADL, he attended meetings of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Council; he volunteered to work in the office of the anti-apartheid March for Peace,

Jobs and Justice; and, because of his stocky build, he worked security at an Arab-American march, said Jeffrey Blankfort, editor of the Middle East Labor Bulletin.

He was so successful at infiltrating political groups that he was once selected to head an Arab-American delegation that visited Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) in her Washington office.

According to court documents, Bullock told a police investigator that he retrieved messages from the telephone answering machine of the White Aryan Resistance (a white supremacist group) by paying an informant called "Scumbag" \$300 or \$400 in ADL funds

for the access code.

He also said he found it irresistible to pass by the building housing the Christic Institute, a left-wing organization, without going up to the fifth floor and rifling through a trash barrel in the hall.

Bullock said "99.9 percent" of the information came from what he called "public sources," including the alternative weekly newspaper in San Francisco, the Bay Guardian, on which he also kept a file.

He said information on such ostensibly apolitical groups as the Earth Island Institute—which was listed in the "Pinko" section, according to court documents—were

part of his own private files, not information he was passing on to ADL.

The revelation that ADL could be tracking such low-profile environmental groups as Earth Island Institute has infuriated members of those groups.

Among the hundreds of groups Bullock kept files on were the Revolutionary Communist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Arab American Democratic Club, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign in Chicago, New Jewish Agenda and the Asian Law Caucus.

Bullock said his career as an informant stemmed from a concern

for justice.

A non-Jew, he said he strongly supported the ADL's mission of identifying anti-Semitism.

"I've never been an idle bystander," he said. "If there's gay bashing by skinheads, don't just wring your hands. Try to identify these thugs and then let the police handle it."

Bullock said he believed the investigation by San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith into the ADL's information gathering operation is part of an effort to impugn the organization's credibility.

"What hidden political agenda is behind this investigation, which has served no one?" he asked.

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FROM: Director, FBI

TO: SAC, Los Angeles {65X-LA-153918}

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 UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE
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 IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED INFORMATION;
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This communication is classified ~~SECRET~~ in its
 entirety.

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For information of Los Angeles, the Office of
 Intelligence Policy and Review (OIPR), Department of Justice,
 has reviewed the March 25, 1993, letterhead memorandum detailing
 the investigation of subject to date. OIPR has determined that
 the facts as reported therein satisfy the requirements of the
 Attorney General's Guidelines.

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newspaper, city and state.)

L.A. TIMES
LOS ANGELES, CA

Date: SAT., 5-8-93
Edition: NEWS, A-11

FIGURE IN ADL SPY CASE
ARRESTED AT S.F. AIRPORT

Classified by SP128126
Declassify on: OADR

Figure in ADL Spy Case Arrested at S.F. Airport

**Espionage: Former
police officer is taken into
custody upon arriving
from Philippines, where
he had fled after FBI
interrogation.**

By JENIFER WARREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—A former San Francisco police officer who fled to the Philippines amid accusations that he funneled confidential law enforcement information to an investigator for the Anti-Defamation League was arrested at the airport here on 11 felony charges, police said Friday.

Thomas J. Gerard, who abruptly left the United States in October after the FBI questioned him about his activities, was apprehended Thursday night after a source in the Philippines told investigators that Gerard was returning home.

Gerard, 50, was booked into San Francisco County Jail early Friday morning on eight counts of theft of government documents and one count each of computer theft, burglary and conspiracy.

If convicted on all charges, Gerard could face 16 years in prison and \$40,000 in fines. Bail was initially set at \$250,000 after police argued that he was a flight risk, but it was later reduced to \$20,000. A friend of Gerard was trying to post bail late Friday afternoon, a sheriff's spokeswoman said.

Gerard returned to the United States because he missed his wife and child, with whom he lived on a houseboat in Sausalito, and "want-

ed to have his day in court," said Police Capt. John Willett, his former boss and one of two arresting officers.

Gerard, an undercover agent for the Central Intelligence Agency from 1982 to 1985, also feared that the CIA was out to kill him, Willett said. In an interview with The Times last month, Gerard threatened to disclose illegal CIA support of death squads in Central America if he was indicted and tried on the San Francisco spying charges.

Gerard is a central figure in a scandal over an intelligence network operated by the Anti-Defamation League, a prominent Jewish civil rights organization. Investigators allege that Gerard illegally gave criminal histories and other confidential information to Roy Bullock, a San Francisco art dealer who said he has been an undercover ADL intelligence operative for 40 years.

Investigators said they found confidential police files in Bullock's home computer—which contained entries on 10,000 people and 950 groups—and in boxes in his apartment. Files have also been seized under search warrants from ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles but authorities have not disclosed their contents.

Gerard could not be reached for comment Friday, and his attorney, James Lassart, did not return telephone calls seeking comment. In the interview with The Times last month, however, Gerard acknowledged snooping and sharing some information with Bullock, but denied any criminal wrongdoing.

Bullock and Gerard also are under investigation for selling intelligence to South Africa.

ADL officials have described

Bullock as a \$550-a-week independent contractor and have vigorously denied knowledge of any illegal activity. On Friday, ADL lawyer Jerrold Ladar said Gerard's arrest "has nothing to do with ADL. Other than that, we have no comment on the case."

Arab-American groups—which were a main target of the spying, according to police—applauded the arrest and pressed authorities to pursue the investigation.

"We urge investigators to carry this case forward and to publicly disclose the full extent of ADL and law enforcement involvement," said James Zogby, head of the Arab American Institute in Washington.

Police, meanwhile, characterized Gerard's arrest—the first in the inquiry into the spying scandal—as an unexpected breakthrough. A former police colleague of Gerard, Inspector Fred Mollat, visited Gerard several weeks ago and urged him to return home.

"I knew he wouldn't want to live on an island on the lam forever, but we didn't think it would happen this quickly," Capt. Willett said. "This development really speeds up our timetable on the case."

During his 25-year career on the police force, Gerard was a highly regarded officer known for his work in the department's intelligence division. His last assignment was on the gang task force.

After FBI agents questioned Gerard last fall, he took early retirement and fled to the remote jungle island of Palawan, 300 miles south of Manila.

Gerard was arrested at 8:40 p.m. as he stepped from his Philippines Airlines flight. He was traveling alone and looked tanned but haggard after his six-month hiatus, police said.

"He was surprised when he saw us standing there, and got a shocked look on his face," Willett said. "Then he said, 'Hello, I'm back.'"

Serial 37

SECRET

May 26, 1993

Honorable Charles Wilson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-4302

Dear Congressman Wilson:

I am writing in further response to your April 13th communication on behalf of Mr. [REDACTED]. Mr. [REDACTED] expressed concern over allegations of an illegal surveillance of American citizens by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith using information provided by its contacts in law enforcement agencies.

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b7c

Based on the considerable press coverage this issue has received, the concerns expressed by Mr. [REDACTED] are certainly understandable. While the FBI, as a matter of policy, will not disclose information which could compromise a pending investigation, you may assure Mr. [REDACTED] that all aspects of this case are being explored. The San Francisco Police Department has been most cooperative in this investigation. With its assistance, the FBI will actively seek prosecution of any individuals discovered to be involved in illegal activity or any enterprise which involves a violation of Federal statutes.

Thank you for providing the FBI an opportunity to address your constituent's concerns.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-1-94 BY SP126126

[REDACTED]
Legislative Counsel
Office of Public and
Congressional Affairs

- 1 - SAC, San Francisco (264B-SF-100978) - Enclosures (3)
Reurtel of 4/30/93.
- ② - SAC, Los Angeles (65X-LA-153918) - Enclosures (3)
- 1 - SAC, Houston - Enclosures (3)

65X-LA-153918-38

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FD-5 (Rev. 10-13-89)

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Memorandum

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To : SAC, LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-153918) (P) Date 6/18/93

(U) From : SA [REDACTED]

(FCI-3) (S)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

b6
b7C
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Subject: UNSUBS;
UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL)
IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU SENSITIVE INFORMATION;
ESP-X;
OO: LOS ANGELES

12-1-94
Classified by SP12BJC
Declassify on: OADR

This ~~entire~~ communication is classified "~~SECRET~~". (U)

(U)

[REDACTED] (S)

For information of the SAC, Los Angeles, investigation was predicated on the fact that a Bureau originated document, from classified Chicago file 100A-57011 titled THE NATION OF ISLAM (NOI); DOMESTIC TERRORISM-NOI; OO: CHICAGO, was found during a search of ADL offices in San Francisco. It was subsequently learned that the ADL in Los Angeles was the original source for the document outside of the Bureau, and that copies had been disseminated to ADL offices across the United States. During the course of a collateral investigation, FBI San Francisco learned that the ADL-Los Angeles received the NOI document from an "official friend", a euphemism for a law enforcement source. San Francisco advised that [REDACTED] a former ADL employee, was possibly the person who received the document from the non-Bureau source. [REDACTED] was interviewed under pretext, but did not recall the original source of the document. [REDACTED] did note that the ADL had a better two way flow of information with the LAPD and LASD than with the FBI. [REDACTED] indicated that ADL regional director DAVID LEHRER might be able to provide more information on the origins of the document.

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JUN 18 1993	
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There have been numerous newspaper articles concerning the ADL and its domestic collection activities, with the most intensive period of press coverage in April and May of this year. There has been virtually no press coverage of this matter since 5/8/93. A recurring theme throughout all of these articles has been the apparent willingness of the ADL to cooperate in whatever investigation is ongoing concerning this matter.

At this point of the investigation into how the Bureau document got into the possession of the ADL it is necessary to pursue one of the following courses of action:

- a) Interview DAVID LEHRER, Regional Director ADL
- b) Interview Sergeant [redacted] LASD
- c) Interview Detective [redacted] LAPD-ATD
- d) Interview Detective [redacted] LAPD

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b7C
b7E

It should be noted that the three police officers were listed in the Chicago file 100A-57011 as being recipients of the NATION OF ISLAM document.

Regarding the above courses of action, it should be noted that interview of the police officers would most likely be to the detriment of the current task force concept as practiced within this office and among the terrorism squads. An interview of LEHRER could be conducted discretely, either at the ADL office, or perhaps at this office if appropriate. The sole purpose of either interview would be for the purpose of identifying who provided the document to the ADL.

In the absence of further interviews it is unlikely that any other means will be successful in determining how the document was transferred to the ADL. At this point of the investigation, the most likely theory of how the document got to the ADL is that it was not through a leak, but rather through the typical liaison information flow between local law enforcement and the ADL.

Recommendation: It is recommended that the SAC, Los Angeles authorize the interview of DAVID LEHRER, Regional Director, ADL, for the purpose of seeking the identity of the individual that transferred the NATION OF ISLAM document to the ADL. If this request is approved, FBIHQ authorization to conduct said interview will be sought, as LEHRER in his position currently represents the ADL, and could therefore be conceivably considered the subject [redacted] (U)

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LA TIMES 6/30/93

LAPD Link to Spy Case Investigated

■ **Law enforcement:**
Inquiry focuses on
whether officers gave
confidential information
to the Anti-Defamation
League, police chief says.

By JIM NEWTON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

The Los Angeles Police Department is investigating allegations that one or more officers compiled confidential information about citizens and turned it over to the Anti-Defamation League, Police Chief Willie L. Williams announced Tuesday.

"The allegations were taken very seriously," Williams said during a meeting of the Los Angeles Police Commission. "An investigation was begun immediately. The results of the investigation, when it is completed, will be made public."

Police Commission President Jesse A. Brewer echoed Williams' comments, and members of an Arab-American group who have pressed the department for action on the charges said they were cautiously gratified by the promise of action.

"This is the first time that we've heard from the commission that there is an investigation," said Nazih Bayda, regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. "That's a start, but we will follow it up."

The disclosures Tuesday mark the first time that the LAPD has publicly acknowledged that it is probing charges that at least one officer within the department may have turned over confidential information to the Anti-Defamation League or to an investigator who worked for that group.

Those charges grow out of an investigation in San Francisco that has raised questions state-wide about the ADL's relationship to law enforcement agencies.

The district attorney's office in San Francisco is investigating whether ADL officials violated state law by collecting confidential information on more than 1,000 political activists and private citizens.

The ADL denies any wrongdoing, and officials at its San Francisco and Los Angeles offices have cooperated with the inquiry and with police who searched their offices with warrants. Nevertheless, the allegations have outraged some groups, which feel privacy rights may be violated by collaboration between law enforcement agencies and the ADL.

Roy Bullock, the West Coast investigator for the ADL, has said that he infiltrated about 30 political groups, but he denies doing anything dishonest. Bullock admitted receiving driver's license and criminal history information on about 50 people, and police found other confidential data in

Please see LAPD, B8

LAPD

Continued from B1

Bullock's computer. That information is supposed to be available only to law enforcement officials.

Earlier this year, San Francisco Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith said that a portion of the confidential information appeared to come from the LAPD. Los Angeles police officials have refused to comment on the progress of the inquiry, and neither Williams nor Brewer offered any details about the status of the investigation.

Citing news reports and other sources, Bayda said that as many as four LAPD officers may have supplied the ADL with confidential files. Some sources said an LAPD anti-terrorism expert is a possible suspect, but department officials have not confirmed that.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.) **LOS ANGELES
TIMES**

Date: **6/30/93**
Edition:

Title: **ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/2/94 BY SP12 BTJ/m**

Character:

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Classification:

Submitting Office:

Serial 41

Indexing:

In his appearance before the Police Commission, Bayda was joined by two prominent political figures, former City Councilman Robert Farrell and former Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally.

Farrell said he was particularly distressed by the suggestion that some of the information allegedly turned over to Bullock or the ADL could have made its way to the South African government. Bullock has admitted selling some information to South Africa.

As a councilman, Farrell said he held a number of meetings to discuss issues with South African dissidents, and he now worries that those meetings might have been infiltrated.

"I would hate to know, at some point in the future, that someone was reporting information to the LAPD and that information was part of the material that was sold to

South African agents," Farrell said.

Dymally also urged the department to investigate the charges, saying that they "undermine the confidence-building that the commission has embarked upon with considerable success."

Members of the group that addressed the Police Commission Tuesday said their fears about LAPD surveillance were heightened by what they considered suspicious police conduct at a rally last week. Demonstrators gathered outside the ADL headquarters in Westwood last Tuesday, Bayda said, and he accused the LAPD of sending a plainclothes photographer to take pictures of protesters.

Bayda said demonstrators knew the photographer was a police officer because they had seen him earlier in the day riding in a car with uniformed LAPD officers.

File - Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 10-13-89)

Date 8-19-93

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THE GARBAGE MAN—

The Strange World of Roy Edward Bullock

**The Bizarre Story of
the Number One
Investigator for
the ADL's International
Spy Network**

With special introductory material by
Michael Collins Piper, the nation's leading authority
on the history and intrigue of the ADL.

HERE'S THE SOLID PROOF THAT INDICTS THE ADL.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12-22-94 BY SP10/BJL/v



About this volume . . .

The unusual title of this unusual document tells it all: The Garbage Man—The Strange World of Roy Edward Bullock, Number One Investigator for the Anti-Defamation League's International Spy Network.

The flamboyant Bullock, a charming, skilled, affable and clever forty-year undercover informant for the ADL is a central figure in an ongoing (1993) criminal probe of the ADL by the San Francisco District Attorney's office. Throughout his entire adult life, the 58-year-old Bullock has been infiltrating and spying upon all manner of organizations at the behest of the ADL. A strange occupation indeed.

Why dub an amusing chap such as the ADL's Roy Bullock, "the garbage man"? Well, it was Bullock himself, in interviews with the FBI and the San Francisco Police, who described his own peculiar proclivity for rummaging through the garbage of organizations targeted by the ADL's spy apparatus.

What's more, Bullock's partner-in-crime, Tom Gerard, a San Francisco police officer who provided Bullock and the ADL with stolen police intelligence information, described himself and Bullock in a newspaper interview as "The Kings of Garbage" in light of their odd practices. Gerard evidently shared Bullock's rubbish fetish.

It might be noted, additionally, that virtually all of what the ADL itself has peddled to the media (and to police agencies around the country) over the years is, in fact, garbage: false, malicious and defamatory lies designed to inflame public opinion (and official sanction) against any and all groups which have aroused the wrath of the ADL.

Not surprisingly, one of Bullock's principal targets—from the beginning of his bizarre career—has been LIBERTY LOBBY, the Washington-based populist Institution established in 1955, just one year after Bullock began spying for the ADL.

LIBERTY LOBBY, because of its effectiveness as America's oldest lobby organization devoted exclusively to the interests of the nation's consumers, taxpayers and voters, is a particular thorn in the side of Bullock's superiors at the ADL.

As a consequence, the ADL has, not surprisingly, expended vast sums of money and an immense amount of energy in targeting LIBERTY LOBBY for destruction. The ADL's spy chief—its self-described "chief fact finder"—one Irwin Suall, an ex-labor racketeer operating out of Manhattan, has specialized in organizing campaigns of harassment and sabotage and dirty tricks against LIBERTY LOBBY for years.

Suall's man Bullock himself visited the offices of LIBERTY LOBBY on Capitol Hill numerous times throughout his career, seeking to uncover what he could about the populist Institution and its operations.

It was, however, in early 1986 that this author (who had been treated to lunches and dinners by Bullock on several occasions) realized that something was amiss. Bullock's behavior was suspect. He was, in fact, it was realized, an ADL agent.

Thus it was LIBERTY LOBBY, appropriately enough, that first exposed Roy Bullock as a paid informant for the ADL in the June 30, 1986 issue of The SPOTLIGHT, the populist Institution's weekly newspaper.

So what then is this entity known as the ADL? It is, first of all, probably the best-organized and -financed and most insidious private spy organization in existence on the face of the earth today.

The ADL, you see, is the American-based propaganda and intelligence division of Israel's super-secret spy agency, the Mossad. The ADL functions as an unregistered—and therefore illegal—foreign agent for the state of Israel, lobbying on behalf of Israel's interests.

The ADL uses its secret files for blackmail purposes and for the intimidation of persons and institutions perceived to be a threat to Israel's continuing multi-billion dollar demands upon the American taxpayers.

If, for example, a member of Congress is considering a vote against taxpayer-financed

benefits to Israel, the ADL will turn to its spy files. Has that congressman been disloyal to his wife? Did that congressman take a bribe? The ADL uses the fruits of its illegal spying to discipline disorderly congressmen such as this and to bring him into line.

If the congressman fails to obey the ADL, his wife may find out he's been stepping out on her and the Justice Department may be advised that the congressman is a crook. It's as simple—and as evil—as that.

The ADL has another unusual function that is less known, but equally odious. Heavily funded by organized crime interests, particularly by criminals of Jewish origin spawned in the international crime syndicate of the late Meyer Lansky, the ADL is quick to raise the cry of "anti-Semitism" when honest law enforcement authorities seek to crack down on crime.

It is, in fact, the ADL which is responsible for covertly promoting much of the media's hype about the so-called "Mafia," the term loosely used to describe organized crime in general, but certain Italian-American elements in the criminal underworld in particular.

Actually, the firm evidence proves that it is the ADL's behind the scenes criminal benefactors in the Lansky combine who were the real leaders of organized crime in America. The Italian-American "Mafia" families, in fact, were simply functioning as foot soldiers for the Lansky Syndicate bosses.

In any case, the very fact that such an entity—the ADL—has been running a massive spying operation unfettered for decades is now part of the public record. Criminal indictments of top ADL officials are expected as a consequence of the San Francisco investigation and the unsavory nature of the ADL has been bared for all to see.

Roy Edward Bullock was but one cog in a giant international operation, the full scope of which has yet to be unmasked. However, Bullock's story is an interesting one at that and one that needs to be told for it mirrors the strange depths of the ADL's dark intrigue.

This volume is primarily a compilation of a portion of some 750 pages of documents released by the San Francisco District Attorney's office in the course of the early stages of its inquiry into the ADL spy scandal.

The documents assembled here are as follows: (1) A declaration and an affidavit filed by San Francisco Police Inspector Ron Roth describing his inquiry into the ADL spy network, enumerating facts he uncovered as well as apparent illegal activities by Bullock, former police officer Tom Gerard and the ADL. (2) An FBI report detailing an interview the FBI conducted with Bullock. (3) An FBI report detailing an interview the bureau conducted with Los Angeles ADL official David Gurvitz (4) Actual copies of reports that Bullock filed with the ADL on a number of organizations and individuals; and (5) A list of the hundreds of organizations upon whom Roy Edward Bullock spied on behalf of the ADL. Also included are several interesting news reports that summarize the matter.

For those interested in reading more about the history and intrigue of the ADL there are several valuable studies available. (Please see the inside back cover of this volume for further information.)

When you have finished reading this remarkable compilation of official documents, you will see, at long last, the ugly truth about the ADL—truly one of the nation's most despicable crime syndicates.

Let us hope that this volume is widely circulated so that the ADL's machinations will be widely known and understood.

LIBERTY LOBBY

MICHAEL COLLINS PIPER
Washington, D.C.
May 15, 1993

Did private spy 'cross the line' into crime?

SEATTLE TIMES, 13 April 93

by Richard C. Paddock
Los Angeles Times

ON FRANCISCO — To the outside world, Roy Bullock was a small-time San Francisco art dealer. In reality, he was a spy who picked through garbage and amassed secret files for the Anti-Defamation League for nearly 40 years.

His code name at the prominent Jewish organization was Cal, and he was so successful at infiltrating political groups that he was once chosen to head an Arab-American delegation that visited Rep. Nancy Pelosi, D-Calif., in her Washington, D.C., office.

For a time, Cal tapped into the phone-message system of the White Aryan Resistance to learn of hate crimes. From police sources, he obtained privileged, personal information on at least 1,394 people. And he met surreptitiously with agents of the South African government to trade his knowledge for \$100 bills.

Those were among the secrets that Bullock and David Gurvitz, a former Los Angeles-based operative, divulged in extensive interviews with police and the FBI in a growing scandal over the nationwide intelligence network operated by the Anti-Defamation League.

Officials of the Anti-Defamation League, a self-described Jewish defense and civil-rights organization, have denied any improper activity and have refused to discuss Bullock and Gurvitz. They say they will cooperate with the investigation.

Transcripts of the interviews — among nearly 700 pages of documents released by San Francisco prosecutors last week — offer new details of the private spy operation that authorities allege crossed the line into illegal territory.

At times, the intelligence activities took on a cloak-and-dagger air with laundered payments, shredded documents, hotel rendezvous with foreign agents and code names like "Ironsides" and "Flipper."

On one occasion, Gurvitz recounts, he received a tip that a pro-Palestinian activist was about to board a plane bound for Haifa, Israel. Although the Anti-Defamation League publicly denies any ties to Israel, Gurvitz phoned an Israeli consular official to warn him. Shortly afterwards, another official called Gur-

SPY

continued from Page 1

vitz back and debriefed him.

The court papers also added to the mystery of Tom Gerard, a former CIA agent and San Francisco police officer accused of providing confidential material from police files to the Anti-Defamation League.

Gerard fled to the Philippines last fall after he was interviewed by the FBI, but left behind a briefcase in his police locker. Its contents included passports, driver's licenses and identification cards in 10 different names; ID cards in his own name for four American embassies in Central America; and a collection of blank birth certificates, Army discharge papers and official stationery from various agencies.

Also in the briefcase were extensive information on death squads; a black hood, apparently for use in interrogations; and photos of blindfolded and chained men.

Investigators suspect that Gerard and other police sources gave the ADL confidential driver's license or vehicle-registration information on a vast number of people, including about 4,500 members of one target group, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

Each case of obtaining such data from a law-enforcement officer could constitute a felony, San Francisco police inspector Ron Roth noted in an affidavit for a search warrant.

The Anti-Defamation League acknowledges that it has long collected information on groups that are anti-Semitic, extremist or racist. The ADL's fact-finding division, headed by Irwin Suall in New York, enjoys a reputation for thoroughness and has often shared its information with police agencies and journalists.

However, evidence seized from Bullock's computer shows that he had information on at least 950 groups of

all political stripes, including the American Civil Liberties Union, Earth Island Institute, the United Auto Workers, Jews for Jesus, Mother Jones magazine, the Center for Investigative Reporting, the Bo Gritz for President Committee, the Asian Law Caucus and the AIDS activist group Act-Up.

The computer files also included information on several members of Congress, including Pelosi, House Armed Services Committee Chairman Ron Dellums, D-Calif., and former Republican Rep. Pete McCloskey from the San Francisco Bay area.

Gurvitz declined through his father to be interviewed. Bullock's attorney said his client would not comment.

Bullock, 58, is one of the most intriguing characters in the spy drama. Although he is not Jewish, he began working undercover as a volunteer for the ADL and the FBI in Indiana in 1954 after reading a book about a man who infiltrated the Communist Party.

Bullock moved to Los Angeles in 1960 and was given a paid position by the ADL as an intelligence operative, he told authorities. In the mid-1970s, he moved to San Francisco and continued his spy operations up and down the West Coast.

To keep his identity secret, his salary has always been funneled through Beverly Hills, Calif., attorney Bruce Hochman — who has never missed a payment in more than 32 years, Bullock said.

From a wide range of sources, Bullock compiled files on 9,876 individuals. Gerard, whose files contained many identical entries, kept files on 7,011 people.

In 1987, Bullock and Gerard began selling some of their vast wealth of information to the South African government. Bullock tells of meeting secretly with South African agents at San Francisco hotels and receiving envelopes filled with thousands of dollars in new \$100 bills.

Bullock insists the information he sold consisted of data he culled only from public sources, and that only Gerard sold official police

intelligence. Bullock said he split about \$16,000 from the South African government evenly with Gerard.

In his interviews with the police and FBI, Bullock talked freely about engaging in activities that prosecutors say would appear to violate the law.

For example, Bullock admitted receiving driver's-license records and criminal histories from Gerard on about 50 people — a fraction of the confidential police data found in his computer. And he said Gerard gave him complete San Francisco Police Department intelligence files on various Nazi groups that were supposed to be destroyed under department policy.

Bullock said he also received a confidential FBI report on the Nation of Islam that he later shredded at the Anti-Defamation League's San Francisco office.

Bullock seemed proud of his "Operation Eavesdrop," in which he used a paid informant, code-named Scumbag, to help tap into a White Aryan Resistance phone-message network, listening to the messages left by members of the right-wing group. "For a short time, it was wonderful," he told police.

In Los Angeles, ADL operative Gurvitz was hired about four years ago as a "fact-finder" to keep intelligence files and occasionally go undercover to the meetings of target groups.

Gurvitz was recently forced to resign after an incident in which he attempted to misuse the ADL intelligence network to seek revenge on a rival who got a job Gurvitz wanted at the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies. Gurvitz received confidential police information on the rival and threatened to expose him as a Jewish spy to a right-wing hate group.

Gurvitz has since begun cooperating with police and the FBI in the probe, providing considerable information about the ADL operation. Unlike Bullock, he has been assured he is not a subject of the investigation.

Non-Arabs mainly shadowed, evidence shows

JOHN J. OPATRY
TIMOTHY WINOKUR
Examiner

SAN FRANCISCO — Evidence in the investigation of ex-fBI officer Tom Gerard and San Francisco art dealer Roy Bullock, a paid informant of the FBI, now a fugitive, now a nationwide surveillance of mostly non-Arabic individuals and groups. Bullock, an Arab-American, said he had early those in northern California — claimed they had been out. They cited Bullock to the Jewish organization ADL, his infiltration of several groups on the West Coast between 1986 and 1992. Bullock asked the San Francisco Commission and the FBI's office to release a hearing on their perjury found in evidence of the residences of Gerard, Bullock and ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Arabs throughout the country are the primary targets, according to sources whose information is based directly upon

the evidence, which includes a private computer data base containing 12,000 names.

"Most names are not from San Francisco. There are many from Los Angeles, but most are not from California. And most are not Arab," said one of the sources, an Arab-American.

"We only make up a quarter of this list. When this whole thing comes to light, a majority probably will be Ku Klux Klan and skinheads," the source said. "But one Arab name is too many and they still violated our civil rights."

Gerard and Bullock are suspected of collaborating to spy on pro-Palestinian, black nationalist, white supremacist and other anti-Jewish groups from 1985 to 1992. Secret files were compiled in possible violation of criminal and civil-rights laws, authorities say.

The two men have been under investigation by the district attorney and the FBI since November; neither has been charged. Gerard, who has fled to a remote island in the Philippines, maintains his innocence.

Bullock has not commented, but his attorney, Robert Breakstone, said he is cooperating with investigators.

Michael Piper, a reporter for a publication of the radical-right Liberty Lobby, one of the groups Bullock spied on, said he and Bullock spoke by telephone Jan. 31.

"It's all out in the open now," Piper reported Bullock saying. "He indicated he found the whole affair unpleasant, but he

didn't think he'd get in trouble."

ADL officials say they are cooperating with investigators and that their organization is not an investigative target.

The ADL has admitted that it routinely gathers information on individuals and organizations, but it contends such surveillance is legal and consistent with its mission: the collection and dissemination of information "to counteract all facets of bigotry and prejudice."

Membership Information

To join Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy one must be age 18 years or older and sign a sworn oath of loyalty to the U.S. Constitution. Minimum membership dues are \$5 a month (or a minimum of \$40 annually). Benefits include a subscription to the weekly SPOTLIGHT newspaper and a subscription to the regular members-only newsletter, *Liberty Letter*. For further information, write: Liberty Lobby, 300 Independence Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 or call (202) 546-5611.

DECLARATION OF INSPECTOR ROY ROTH

I am Inspector Roy Roth of the San Francisco Police Department, and I have been conducting an investigation into the misuse of confidential government information and the invasion of privacy of over 1,000 persons. In connection with this investigation I prepared a search warrant affidavit with exhibits for five search warrants which were issued by the Hon. Lenard Louis. I believe that that affidavit is true and I have attached a copy of it with its exhibits to this affidavit and included it within Exhibit "A".

I have read an affidavit prepared by Sgt. Steve Gudell of the San Francisco Police Department regarding this same investigation. I believe that that affidavit is true and which I have attached and included within Exhibit "A".

I personally went to Los Angeles to serve the search warrant and search the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) office in that city. The persons in charge of that office wished to cooperate with my investigation and consented to a search of that office and that search warrant was not served. All of the items removed from that location were copied and copies were left with ADL. The seized items were returned to San Francisco and index of which is attached hereto and is included within Exhibit "A".

I spoke to San Francisco Police Department Captain John Willett who told me that the persons in charge of the San Francisco ADL office at 720 Market St., SF and their attorneys wished to cooperate with our investigation and they consented to the search and the search warrant was not served.

All of the items removed from that location that belonged to the ADL were copied and copies were left with the ADL. All other items that did not belong to ADL were removed and were not copied. The seized items, an index of which is attached and included within Exhibit "A".

I have observed and examined the items seized from Roy Bullock's residence which location I have blacked out from the copies of the search warrants for Mr. Bullock's safety. Mr. Bullock did not consent to the search but the search warrant was served with his cooperation, according to Inspector Robert Wulsey. The seized items, an index of which is attached and included within Exhibit "A".

I have observed and examined the items seized from the residence and storage shed belonging to Thomas and Julie Gerard, the location of which I have blacked out for their safety. I was informed by Sgt. Gudell who conducted that search that Thomas Gerard was not present at the time of the search, however, his wife was present and although she did not consent, the searches

were conducted with her cooperation. The seized items from each location, indexes of which are attached hereto and included as part of Exhibit "A".

I spoke to FBI Agent Joel Moss who told me that he interviewed Roy "Cal" Bullock on two occasions at the office of Bullock's attorney and that Moss memorialized these two conversations in FBI reports which Moss gave to me and which I have read and which I believe to be true and which I have copied and attached hereto collectively as Exhibit "R".

I also spoke to Roy "Cal" Bullock and I agreed that the statement he gave to me would not be used against him in a criminal trial. These conversations were tape-recorded and have been transcribed. I have read the transcriptions and they are accurate renditions of our conversation. I am attaching them to this affidavit collectively as Exhibit "C" because they may contain evidence which may be exculpatory or which might tend to detract from the probable cause described in this affidavit. I do not wish the court to consider these statements for purposes of probable cause.

I prepared a search warrant affidavit on 2/5/93 for the search of Thomas Gerard's bank accounts, Roy "Cal" Bullock's bank accounts and a black briefcase which was found in a locker belonging to Thomas Gerard. I have attached a copy of that affidavit to this affidavit as Exhibit "A". A copy of the search warrant return and inventory for the briefcase has been copied and is attached and is referred herein as Exhibit "D".

I was told by Agent Moss as contained in Exhibit "R" that Roy "Cal" Bullock was an employee of Anti-Defamation League but that the ADL did not pay Bullock directly. Moss told me that Bullock received his ADL salary from a lawyer named Bruce Hochman in Los Angeles. I called Los Angeles telephone information and found a listing for Bruce Hochman, an attorney at telephone no. (310) 273-1181. I spoke to a man who told me he was Mr. Hochman and that he had been receiving salary checks from the Anti-Defamation League and then depositing them to Hochman's own account and then writing his own check to Roy "Cal" Bullock to pay his ADL salary. Hochman told me that he had been doing this for approximately 25 years. Notes of my conversation with Hochman have been copied and my notes are attached to this affidavit and are referred to herein as Exhibit "C". Mr. Hochman sent to me his bank records for the past three years. I reviewed those records which consisted of cancelled checks. I determined that the statement made to Joel Moss by Roy "Cal" Bullock and the statement made by Bruce Hochman are true in that ADL paid Bullock's salary by sending a check to Hochman who in turn sent a check to Bullock.

As a result of the search warrants served on Roy Bullock's bank account at the Bank of America, I have so far received his bank records and cancelled checks for the period July 1985 through

August 1989. The Los Angeles attorney Bruce Hochman sent me cancelled checks he had written to Roy Pullock for the period January '90 through February '93. I have examined all of these cancelled checks written to Roy Pullock from Bruce Hochman. Most checks have a notation on the bottom "Research". The checks are generally written weekly and in 1985 they started out in the amount of \$250 per check. In 1990 the amount increased to \$550 per check and appears to be constant through 1993. Of the 333 checks I have examined in this time period the total amount paid to Pullock was \$169,375.00. A log of all Hochman checks examined has been made, and a copy of which is attached hereto and now referenced as Exhibit "F".

I spoke to David Gurvitz who told me that he had been an employee of the Anti-Defamation League and that he knew Roy Pullock. I have recorded this conversation and a transcription of that interview which I believe to be accurate is attached hereto as Exhibit "G". I spoke to FBI Agent Joel Moss who told me that he had a recent interview with David Gurvitz and that he memorialized that interview in an official FBI report, which I have read and which I believe to be true, a copy of which is attached hereto as Exhibit "H".

I spoke to Tim Carroll who told me that he was a San Diego County Sheriff's Detective and that he knew Tom Gerard and Roy Pullock. I tape-recorded our interview, an accurate transcript of which is attached hereto and is included in Exhibit "A".

DATA BASES

I have examined the data bases extracted from the 12-10-92 confiscated computers from the residence of Roy Pullock and the residence of Tom Gerard. In the "Paradox" computer program, Pullock had a data base named "PDX ROY/DR". This data base was divided into four categories named: "ARAB" "PINKO" "RIGHT" "SKINS". Gerard's computer also had this "PDX ROY/DR" data base. Gerard's was divided into five categories: "ARAB" "PINKO" "RIGHT" "SKINS" and "A.N.C.". A.N.C. stands for African National Congress. This is believed due to interviews made as well as data analysis.

Within the "PDX ROY/DR" database in Pullock's computer there were 9,876 files located. The majority of these files are individual people referenced along with their address, sometimes a physical description and a comments field. The comments field often contained group affiliation or a list of meetings attended by the subject. There were also fields in each record that called for a driver's license number and another field for their vehicle license plate number. In Pullock's data base, we located references to 1,394 driver's license numbers and license plates.

Gerard's data base seems to contain many of the same files as Pullock's data base, with the exception of several later entries. Due to the exact names of both files: "PDX ROY/DR", and the fact that many files are identical in nature, and there are numerous misspellings that are identical to both, including the word "license" in a field of its own on every file of both data bases, it is believed that at one time Pullock gave Gerard a copy of his data base. At that time it is believed that both subjects (Gerard and Pullock) added onto them separately.

An analysis of Gerard's data based "PDX ROY/DR" found that he had 7011 files. These were constructed similar to Pullock's. We located 874 references to driver's licenses and license plates in Gerard's data base.

Reference were found in both computer data bases to: F.B.I., C.I.I., and local criminal history numbers.

Also located in both computers, were numerous references to hundreds of political, religious, social, ethnic, and business groups. These references were made both in the data bases and in documents retrieved. A copy of the groups listed is attached to this affidavit and now referenced as Exhibit "I".

Based on the evidence, exhibits and facts in this affidavit I believe that Roy Pullock and APL had numerous peace officers supplying them with confidential criminal and DMV information.

TRASH

Upon examining the documents extracted from Roy Bullock's computer, which was seized on 12-10-92, I read two documents titled: "CHRISTIC" and "CHRIST 2". Both documents refer to the Christic Institute in San Francisco. Among other items mentioned in these documents, which are dated May 1988 and Jan. 10, 1990, respectively, are the names and phone numbers of many employees including the home phone numbers of the heads of the Marin and San Jose offices. Also mentioned are telephone messages to staff members, (including names and phone numbers of callers) office correspondence listing the names and return addresses of the senders and dates of letters, and inter-office notes. These reports also make mention of the fact that The Christic Institute maintains bank accounts with Wells Fargo and with Fureka Federal Savings. The report "CHRIST 2" goes so far as to itemize 5 checks written, including the payees, the dates, and amounts. It also includes the balance of the checking account.

I was able to examine and read another set of documents retrieved from Bullock's seized computer. They were titled "P...." and "P....2" through "P....6", for a total of six documents.

These documents pertain to a right winged individual that has been associated with the White Arvan Resistance, W.A.R. Some of the documents refer to notes and letters read (possibly from the trash) that refer to this subject and his family. The documents refer to this subject's daughters and lists their ages as 10, 12, and 13 years old as well as their names. Notes that these girls wrote to each other are quoted in these documents. It should be noted that these children are described as having right-winged leanings as they refer to skinheads and swastikas in their quoted writings.

BANK RECORDS

I have examined bank records from Tom Gerard's account at the San Francisco Police Credit Union. These records were given to me as the result of a search warrant served at that location on 02/08/93. The records examined were for the period between 1985 and December of 1992. A closer analysis revealed that between November 26, 1990 and June 8, 1992 Tom Gerard made over \$10,500 in cash deposits. Upon examination of the deposit slips in these transactions, I have found that approximately 76% of this amount was deposited in denominations of \$50's and \$100's.

This time frame, and the amount of cash, and it's denominations will tend to corroborate statements made by Bullock to the F.B.I. with respect to the money Bullock and Gerard allegedly received from representatives of the South African government. Bullock told Agent Moss that the amount of approximately \$16,000 was split between he and Gerard over approximately 4 years.

I have also examined partial bank records from Roy Bullock's account at the Bank of America. These partial records, from 1985 - 1988, were given to me as the result of a search warrant served at the Castro St. branch on 02/08/93. The records examined by me showed that in this time frame Bullock had cashed \$12,808 in money orders and cashier's checks. 12 of these money orders were American Express money orders totalling over \$8625. Five of these American Express money orders were for \$1000 each. Bullock has made statements to me that personnel in the San Francisco A.D.L. office pay him money orders for him to cash and pay his informants and for his expenses in his field investigating.

OPERATION EVFSDROP

I have reviewed documents and data retrieved from the computer seized from the 12-10-92 search of Roy Bullock's residence. Among those retrieved documents I read one titled "SCIMPAG NOX". This document refers to an informant of the ATF (Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms). The document describes how this informant was in fact a highly placed member of the group White Arvan Resistance (W.A.R.). It also says that this informant wrote and recorded the racist "hot-line" hate messages for the W.A.R. group. I have interviewed on the telephone a man claiming to be a self proclaimed White Supremist, Tom Metzger. Metzger told me that he is associated with the W.A.R. group and has been connected with some of the W.A.R. "hot-lines" in operation throughout the state.

The "SCIMPAG NOX" document further states that this ATF informant had the access code for the W.A.R. "hot-line", which allows one to hear all the recorded messages left after the signal beep. This document was dated 12/29/90 and was signed by "Cal" indicating Roy Bullock. The document refers to the informant by name.

I also reviewed a document from the same computer, titled "FVFSNDROP NOX". The document is quoted as saying: "With information supplied by an official friend, we are now able to listen to all messages left on the war hotline (541-5688). Starting on the weekend of November 3rd, I have monitored the phone number on a continual basis."

This document, "Fvesdrop NOX", is dated 11/8/90 and is signed by "Cal" (indicating Roy Bullock). With my interview of former Los Angeles A.D.L. employee David Gurvitz, I knew that when A.D.L. employee's refer to "official friend", they are referring to friends in law enforcement. This document further transcribes calls which were apparently made to the W.A.R. hotline. The calls are dated and identified with respect to the callers name and time and message.

I have examined similar documents retrieved from Bullock's computer. These documents number 15 and are titled "Fves 2" numerically through to "Fves 15". They are all similar in which they describe messages left on the hotline, with respect to date, time, caller info, and message. Many of the messages referenced are racist in nature and many have notations in parenthesis that note the individuals California Driver's License number, vehicle registration information, or P.O. Box information.

The last document in this series is titled "Fves 15" and is dated October, 1991.

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I have reviewed material and documents seized at a 12-10-92 consent search of the S.F. A.D.L. office. I am aware that among items seized by Insp. Dennis Maffei was a manila folder file titled "OPERATION EVFSDROP". I reviewed this file and found it to contain four reports, 3 were on pink paper and one on white paper. Three of these are the same as those found in Bullock's computer, which are labeled in Bullock's data base "FVES 4, FVES 5, EVFS 7". All are headed on top by "Subject: War Voicemail Messages" and all are dated in the April - May 1991 time-range. The fourth document found in the S.F. - A.D.L. folder file labeled "OPERATION EVFSDROP" is dated May 21-22, 1991 and could not be located in the Bullock computer. This document is similar to the rest and stapled to it is an A.D.L. piece of notepaper imprinted with the A.D.L. logo and the words: "From the desk of Richard S. Wirschhaut". The following names are typed on the notepaper: "Irwin Suall" "Alan Schwartz" "Mort Kass" "Retsy Rosenthal" and the words "For Your Information" are typed below.

I recognize all of those names to be former or present A.D.L. employees in different A.D.L. offices across the country. I have knowledge that there are approximately 35 A.D.L. offices in the country and the S.F. office is known as the Central Pacific Regional Office.

After reviewing the documents seized from the San Francisco and Los Angeles A.D.L. I know that it is common for A.D.L. reports to be routed to different A.D.L. offices across the country.

It should be noted that in my interview with Bullock, he told me that he left copies of all "FVFSDROP" related documents on S.F. A.D.L. Executive Director Rich Wirschhaut's desk. On several occasions, Bullock told me, he personally discussed "Operation Fvesdrop" with Wirschhaut and handed him the reports.

On April 5th 1993 I received a letter from Bruce Hochman the attorney who has been passing on the A.D.L. payments to Roy Bullock. Mr. Hochman had previously told me that he would send to me a copy of the check that A.D.L. sends to Hochman for Bullock.

In the letter was enclosed a copy of an A.D.L. check, a copy of both check and letter is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Exhibit "X". The name of bank upon which the check is drawn is the City National Bank, Wilshire La Cienega Office, 842 Wilshire Blvd., Beverly Hills, CA 90211.

David Gurvitz told me that this bank is the same bank, (but a different branch) in which that the A.D.L. has a secret fund which is an account in the name of "L. Patterson". Gurvitz has previously told me that David Lehrer, the person in charge of the

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Los Angeles A.D.L. office kept a City National Bank check book in Gurvitz' ADL office safe. The name on the checks was L. Patterson. Gurvitz told me the bank was located at Olympic and Vermont Sts., Los Angeles. I believe this bank to be at 1730 W. Olympic, Los Angeles, CA. Gurvitz told me that David Lehrer is the only one that signs these checks as "L. Patterson".

The purpose of this check book was to pay for expenses for the fact finding operations of Los Angeles A.D.L.

Based on the facts contained in this combined affidavit and its exhibits and my experience and training I believe that the bank records from these two checking accounts would show: (1) that Roy Pullock is an employee of A.D.L. (2) who in A.D.L. supplies the funds to pay Roy Pullock (3) who receives surreptitious payments from the L. Patterson account, (4) whether there are any other hidden employees other than Roy Pullock.

David Gurvitz had told me on 3/31/93 that all salary checks came from the New York office of A.D.L. Gurvitz also told me that he knew of some other code named fact finders and field investigators like Roy "Cal" Bullock and that their names are: (1) In Chicago there is an ex-police officer named CHI-3 (2) In St. Louis there is IRONSIDES (3) In Atlanta there is an Arab speaking man named FLIPPER. Since it appears that nationwide there are additional secret code named employees of A.D.L. and since it appears that there are other California code named employees such as SCOUT, SCUMBAG and HOT SPURS, I believe that the bank records for the two described Bank accounts will tend to show that other state income tax felonies have been committed and that the evidence of such felonies will be found in the bank records and check books at the A.D.L. offices as well as the bank records that exist at the bank's offices.

Attached to this search warrant and affidavit is a list of items to be located at both ADL S.F. and L.A. offices. This list is incorporated herein and is now referenced as "ITEMS TO BE SEIZED". Most of these items listed were also listed in the 12/10/92 search warrants of the same officers. At this time I requested permission to search for these items again due to the fact that on 12-10-92 ADL employees were apparently less than truthful with regards to the employment of Roy Pullock and other matters. In the L.A. ADL office when I requested employment information on David Gurvitz and on Roy Pullock I was told that the office had no records there.

During those consent searches we were also looking for a "Nation of Islam" report prepared by the F.B.I. We were not given that report by ADL employees. That report was later shared to us by

the attorney of Roy Pullock. During those searches we were not provided with or did we locate:

1. Employee records on

Roy Pullock
David Gurvitz;

2. Internal ADL memos or records showing the ADL's leadership relation to Pullock, Gurvitz, and the fact finding function;

3. ADL phone records for L.A. and S.F.;

4. Lists of "Official friends" or law enforcement contacts;

5. Information on the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee. Gurvitz told me that there were numerous files and references to this organization in the L.A. office. In fact David Gurvitz told me that any Arab American with anti-Israel leanings or any Arab Americans that wrote letters to the newspaper editors expressing anti-Israeli sentiment would be reflected in ADL L.A. files.

After numerous interviews and analysis of the documents seized in eight searches as well as examination of Pullock and Gerard's computer files I know that it is common for the ADL to keep and file information on groups such as the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee. It is believed that if located, these files will show that inquiries were made to D.M.V. vehicle registration and driver's license numbers of members listed at a ratio of approximately 10-15% of the total membership. For each D.M.V. inquiry by the ADL, through a law enforcement officer, a felony of 182 P.C., conspiracy, could be applied.

At this time I would request the authorization to search both ADL S.F. and L.A. offices for any information or document that is also present in Pullock's seized computer. This information will tend to show that Bullock is in fact a paid employee for the ADL and the majority of the information stored on his computer is there strictly for ADL purposes. It is believed that Pullock's data bases are in fact the ADL data bases. This conclusion is based on the comparison of ADL seized documents and Pullock's retrieved computer documents as well as statements of Bullock and Gurvitz.

On the basis of my investigation, which included numerous interviews, inquiries to other law enforcement agencies, service of numerous search warrants, and analysis of bank records as well as computer records, as contained in this affidavit and its

exhibits, it is my belief that Roy Bullock has been a permanent employee of the Anti-Defamation League for over 25 years. Exhibits attached indicate that Bullock was paid each week by Beverly Hills attorney Bruce Hochman who in turn was reimbursed by the A.D.L. It is believed that Bullock had access to and a desk at the A.D.L. office in San Francisco and in fact received direction as to his assignments and duties from A.D.L.'s San Francisco Executive Director Rick Mirschhaut and from A.D.L.'s fact finding head in New York, Irwin Suall. .

I have been in contact with a tax auditor for the State of California Employment Development Department (Tax Enforcement Section) Robert Smith. Smith told me that he has researched Bullock's name and Social Security number and was unable to find either, reported on any quarterly contribution returns filed by the A.D.L. for the period 1/1/87 through 12/31/92. The State of California's lists of permanent A.D.L. employees fail to mention Bullock.

A certified copy of the A.D.L.'s quarterly contributions for the dates 01/01/87 through 12/31/92 as well as copies of the State's A.D.L. employee lists have been supplied to me by Auditor Smith and I have attached a copy of it hereto and is now referenced as Exhibit "J".

If in fact Bullock is a permanent employee of the A.D.L. and the A.D.L. failed to report him as indicated above, the A.D.L. would be in violation of the felonies 2117.5 and 2118.5 of the Unemployment Insurance Code for each quarter. The time period indicated, 1/1/87 through 12/31/92, would represent 48 felonies committed by the A.D.L. in that any person who willfully fails to report, collect and pay over to the Department, State unemployment, disability insurance, and personal income taxes for each calendar quarter that wages were paid, violates these sections.

It is believed that records and evidence of Bullock's permanent employment will be located in the San Francisco and Los Angeles A.D.L. offices based on statements, cancelled checks, and other documents and records seized and analyzed.

It is Auditor Smith's and your affiant's experience that businesses and organizations keep the above described records, and/or computer equipment used to store business and employee records, on their business premises and/or in their home, including any outbuildings.

To further describe and explain the items in Exhibit "I" that are to be searched for and seized, you affiant explains:

Employment and Payroll Documents:

It is your affiant's and auditor Smith's experience that these records will identify current and former workers; and when, where and type of work performed. They will also show gross earnings; payroll withholdings, in any; and actual amounts paid workers individually and in total. Notices to workers will help show direction and control over the workers' serves.

Receipts and Disbursements Records:

It is your affiant's and auditor Smith's experience that records maintained by businesses are sometimes incomplete. Bank records and cash transactions records provide a more complete account of payments to workers, vendors, and creditors, as well as payments from customers. These records will also identify the responsible party(s), and availability of funds and when they were available.

Accounting, Financial, Asset and Liability Records:

These records are relevant for an investigation of the suspected offenses as they provide information regarding ownership and control of the monies, assets, and liabilities involved in operating a business, as well as any information regarding questionable manipulation of business transactions and reports in the furtherance of the suspected offenses.

Customer Documents:

These records are relevant for an investigation of this type as they help identify customers and sources of revenue. This can be used to identify workers, as well as determine the availability of funds coming into the business.

Material and Equipment Purchase and Rental Records:

These records are important in identifying workers, determining how and when suppliers, vendors and creditors are paid, verification of ownership and control of the suspect's business, and verification that transactions are bona fide expenses, void of any payroll offsetting.

Insurance Documents:

It is auditor Smith's and your affiant's experience that insurance applications policies, claims, invoices, premiums, and questionnaires help identify the principals and responsible parties of the business, identify workers, and show ability to pay.

Computer Equipment and Devices:

It is auditor Smith's and your affiant's experience that businesses commonly use electronic data storage equipment and devices to store, summarize and manipulate and various types of business records described above.

It has been the experience of Auditor Smith and the affiant that business concerns, such as the A.D.L. maintain their personnel records, payroll records, and complete business records, including electronic data storage equipment and devices, on the premises of their business.

It is possible to ascertain the true work dates, hours worked, and wages earned by and paid to all employees of the A.D.L. by seizing and analyzing their complete business records.

On the basis of the foregoing, the affiant believes that evidence of violations of the previously described sections of the CUC, Insurance Code and the Penal Code exists on the A.D.L.'s business addresses of 720 Market St., San Francisco, County of San Francisco and 10495 Santa Monica Blvd., Los Angeles, County of Los Angeles.

It is still believed that the crimes articulated in the 12/10/92 affidavit and search warrants regarding this investigation were committed by the subject already articulated. It is believed that if located, the financial records sought in this search warrant will in fact tend to show the financial relationships of the principals involved and will show who is directing these crimes and to what extent the principals are involved.

On the basis of this information, the affiant believes probable cause exists for the issuance of a search warrant as set forth in Penal Code Section 1524. Your affiant further believes that the foregoing described property, which comes within the provisions of the California Penal Code, Section 1524(a) Subdivision 4, is located at said business, the A.D.L.

In the exhibits corresponding to this affidavit I have blacked out the following due to the nature of this investigation with respect to the safety and well being of citizen's which would possibly be endangered if their names and or addresses were revealed:

*Address references to Roy Bullock

*Address references to Tom Gerard

*Name and address references to police informants

*Name and address references of any other persons deemed to be in danger should this information be divulged.

*Confidential information received from the California Department of Motor Vehicles and/or the California Department of Justice.

In addition to above I have omitted "Exhibit A" from the 12/10/92 affidavit and search warrant. This exhibit contains law enforcement classified C.I.I. criminal information as well as D.M.V. registration and history information. This series of documents was included in the 2/5/93 affidavit and search warrants which is now referenced as Exhibit "A".

At this time the court has sealed the 12/10/92 and the 2/5/93 search warrants, affidavits, and returns. It is requested that they be unsealed to the extent that they pertain to the materials included in this search warrant and affidavit. I would further request that this court seal this original affidavit and its exhibits and instead release a redacted version of this document which is attached hereto as a redacted duplicate.

AFFIDAVIT OF
Inspector Ronald Roth

EXHIBIT A

SEARCH WARRANT AND AFFIDAVIT BY INSPECTOR ROTH

February 5, 1993

I am Inspector Ronald Roth of the San Francisco Police Department. I prepared and signed the attached search warrant affidavit which is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Exhibit #1. I requested and received search warrants for five locations based on that affidavit from the Honorable Lenard Louie Judge of the San Francisco Superior Court. I also read an affidavit for a search warrant that was prepared and signed by Sgt. Steve Gudelj of the San Francisco Police Department which I believe to be true and which is attached hereto and incorporated herein as Exhibit #2 which resulted in the issuance of a sixth search warrant issued by the Honorable Lenard Louie.

I personally searched the Los Angeles office of the B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League on December 10, 1992.

I have also examined all of the evidence seized from the following locations:

- A) The San Francisco Office of the ADL, located in San Francisco, CA
- B) The residence of Roy "CAL" Bullock located in San Francisco, CA
- C) The residence of Thomas Gerard located in Sausalito, CA
- D) A storage shed belonging to Thomas Gerard located in Sausalito, CA
- E) The Los Angeles office of the Anti-Defamation League

I have read and attached hereto an index of items seized from each of the above locations which I believe to be true and which I hereby incorporate by reference as Exhibit #3.

I have read a San Francisco Examiner article which was published on January 22nd 1993 which purports to be an interview with Thomas Gerard. I have copied that article and I hereby incorporate it herein by reference as Exhibit #4, so that this court may review what appears to be a statement by Thomas Gerard.

I have interviewed Roy "Cal" Bullock and he told me that he, Bullock is an employee of the San Francisco Office of the Anti-Defamation League although his salary comes to him by check from a Los Angeles attorney named Bruce Hochman.

Prior to my interview of Bullock, he was told that what he told me would not be used against him.

In my interview with Roy Bullock, he told me that his position with ADL is that of a fact finder and that he has worked in an intelligence gathering position for ADL for almost forty years. During that time Bullock has infiltrated groups from right wing hate groups to Communist groups. Bullock also stated that he has gathered and prepared intelligence files on thousands of individuals. Bullock also stated that he has shared that information with various law enforcement agencies, and has been a paid informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

He also stated that he obtained confidential information from Thomas Gerard who gave him criminal offender record information (known as rap sheets in California) and other state Department of Motor Vehicle information including driver's license information and motor vehicle registration information as well as confidential United States Postal Service Box holder information.

Bullock also told me that he had informants who he paid and that he was reimbursed by the ADL for those payments. On one occasion Bullock said that a Federal Agent from the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms introduced Bullock to an informant that belonged to the White Aryan Resistance. This occurred at the ATF office in early 1991. Bullock relayed information regarding this informant to ADL personnel, who then authorized money to be relayed to this W.A.R. informant in exchange for information on W.A.R. This information-for-money exchange lasted for several months, and Bullock said that all of the exchanges took place in the ATF office, in the presence of an ATF agent. He said that on at least one occasion the ATF agent passed the ADL money to the informant.

Bullock told me that he was normally given cashier's checks by the ADL for informant payments. Bullock would cash the checks and pay the informants in cash.

I have read the files seized from Roy "Cal" Bullock and from Thomas Gerard and I have found over ten thousand individual names in the files and I have found several hundred entries in those files wherein confidential rap sheet and DMV information was listed along side other less private or non governmental information.

The records reviewed from the seized computer containing approximately 10,000 names are divided up into various files which are named as follows:

- "ANC": Contains information about people and organizations who are opposed to Apartheid.
- "ARABS": Contains information about people and organizations who support an independent

state for Palestine.

- "PINKO": Contains information about people and organizations that are liberal.
- "RIGHT": Contains information about people and organizations which are reactionary.
- "SKINS": Contains information about people and organizations in the Skinhead community.

All of the above described files contain some confidential Department of Motor Vehicle and criminal information.

In reading the files marked "ANC" the word "tasking" is used. This word is referenced both in file information located in Bullock's computer, as well as in files found in Gerard's computer (on separate documents). I am familiar with the meaning of this word in the intelligence community and it means a request for information from your intelligence controller. When I interviewed Roy Bullock, he confirmed this meaning and told me that Tom Gerard used this expression when inquiring about further assignments from the South African agent.

In my interview with Bullock, he told me that he did not pay Gerard for information obtained for ADL purposes. Bullock did tell me that he and Gerard worked together, independently from the ADL, for agents of the South African government. In this context, Bullock was paid a sum of approximately \$15,000 over a few years. Bullock said that he shared half of that money with Gerard. Bullock said that Gerard had introduced him to a South African agent a few years ago. This agent wanted information of interest to the South African government, with respect to Bay Area Anti-Apartheid groups and other groups and activities contrary to the South African government interests. Over a three to four year period, Bullock and Gerard supplied this agent and another agent with information as articulated above.

Prior to my interview of Bullock, I talked with Special Agent Joel Moss of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. S/A Moss told me that he had interviewed Bullock and had made no promises to Bullock and that the interview proceeded without limitations. The information from my interview of Bullock was basically the same information that he related to S/A Moss.

Upon examining the items found in the search of Roy Bullock's residence, I located a computer print-out which is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Exhibit #5. This print-out makes a financial reference to a cash payment of \$5500 made to Tom Gerard. In my interview with Bullock, he told me that Gerard had previously given Bullock a cash loan of \$5500 for the purchase of some artwork. This reference, as mentioned in Exhibit #5, was repayment of that loan.

A print-out was made of most of the computer records retrieved from Bullock's computer which was also seized in the search of his residence. One of these records, a file named "Roy92", is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Exhibit 6. This file seems to be an expense record for 1992. In this record many payments totaling over \$3000 are noted as "ADL REFUND" or "ADL FUND".

On 01/21/93 San Francisco Police Officer Mark Hurley contacted Deputy Chief Lau and notified him that a subject in this investigation, Tom Gerard, had a locker assigned to him at the S.F. Police Athletic Club at Hunter's Point Naval Ship Yard, San Francisco. Officer Hurley is the club president and had heard Gerard had quit the police department and was possibly in the Philippines. He was concerned about the contents of the locker, as the locker was unlocked.

As a result of this notification, on 01/22/93, Sgt. Robert Hulseley responded to the San Francisco Police Athletic Club. Officer Hurley led Sgt. Hulseley to locker #284, which was marked "Tom Gerard" on the outside. The locker was opened and found to contain, among routine toilet articles, a black brief case. Officer Hurley said that in his duties at the club, he had never seen a brief case stored in a locker.

Sgt. Hulseley then took custody of the brief case and took it to the Hall of Justice, Room 558, where it was secured under lock. It is your affiant's belief that Tom Gerard, knowing he was under investigation prior to his alleged departure for the Philippines, may have scattered some incriminating property at various locations, possibly anticipating search warrants.

It is your affiant's belief that items sought in the original attached search warrant, as articulated in "Exhibit A" of that warrant will be located in the brief case in question, now located in Room 558, Hall of Justice, San Francisco. It is requested that a search warrant be issued to search that brief case.

As articulated in the attached search warrant, Exhibit 1, it is your affiant's belief that a financial relationship exists between Bullock, Gerard, and the ADL, and now the South African Government as articulated above.

Your affiant has learned through Dept. of Motor Vehicle records that Tom Gerard has a loan outstanding in his personal vehicle, California plate [REDACTED]. Records indicate the San Francisco Police Credit Union as the legal owner of that vehicle. A print-out of that record is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Exhibit 7. Your affiant has personal knowledge that for a person to apply for a S.F. Police Credit Union car loan, that person must have a savings account there, and must fill out a credit application.

Your affiant also requests a search warrant be issued commanding the search of bank records and loan information, as articulated in Exhibit 8, at the S.F. Police Credit Union at 2550 Irving St., San Francisco. Your affiant believes that this search will tend to establish the financial relationships as indicated, with respect to deposits, withdrawals, and general account activity.

It is anticipated that upon service of this warrant, if issued, will require approximately 60 days for compliance. This is due to the extensive research required of the credit union in question. If this is the case, a declaration requesting additional time for the location and reproduction of the requested records will be filed with the court.

Among the items listed in Exhibit 3 and located at the search of the residence of Roy Bullock, [REDACTED] St., San Francisco, were blank Bank of America checks imprinted with the account name of: "East West Traders [REDACTED] St. #5 (415) [REDACTED]". Your affiant knows that address and phone number to be that of Roy Bullock. Your affiant has been told by Bullock that East West Traders is the name of his art company. Your affiant has examined computer records seized from Bullock's residence and found no other references to any other banks or financial institutions. A copy of one of the seized blank checks is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Exhibit 9.

As articulated in the original affidavit written by your affiant, it is still believed that a financial relationship existed between Roy Bullock, the Anti-Defamation League, and Tom Gerard, and other unknown persons. As articulated in the original affidavit, your affiant would like to search for bank records that would confirm this relationship. Your affiant believes that a search of the bank records at the Castro-Market Branch of the Bank of America, East West Traders Account, will result in cancelled check information as well as account activity that will show the relationship as indicated.

In conjunction with this ongoing investigation, and in accordance with the facts already articulated in the attached search warrant, your affiant requests the issuance of an additional search warrant to search the Castro-Market Branch of the Bank of America, San Francisco, for the items articulated in Exhibit 10.

It is believed that Bullock or Gerard possibly have multiple accounts at their respective financial institutions. This could be done due to the nature of their involvement in intelligence gathering with respect to attempting to hide or conceal records or accounts. For convenience the accounts may appear at their normal banks, but under different names or company names. It is intended that any search warrant issued authorize the search and seizure of any information (as articulated in respective Exhibit lists) with respect to any or all accounts or loans in any way connected with Thomas J. Gerard, and Roy E. Bullock.

Superior

Municipal Court of the City and County of
San Francisco, State of California

It is also believed that Bullock and Gerard may in fact have safety deposit boxes issued to them, or may have access to any box or boxes under different names or company names. It would be common for someone that deals with large cash sums to store these monies a safety deposit box to avoid official scrutiny. It is also possible that incriminating papers and or records may also be stored in safety deposit boxes as well. There is a possibility that Bullock may have further records describing the \$5,500 paid to Tom Gerard, as loan repayment, as articulated by Bullock. It is therefore requested that any search warrants issued for financial institutions also authorize search of records pertaining to and search of the actual boxes themselves with respect to the circumstances articulated above, and outlined in the attached Exhibit lists.

It is anticipated that upon service of this warrant, if issued, will require approximately 60 days for compliance. This is due to the extensive research required of the bank in question. If this is the case, a declaration requesting additional time for location and reproduction of the requested records will be filed with the court.

Your affiant requests this affidavit and all other documents relating to this affidavit be sealed for the following reasons:

The warrant sought pursuant to this affidavit relates to an on-going confidential investigation involving federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. It is expected that additional warrants will be sought relating to this matter. If the information contained in this affidavit and in related documents is made public, it would compromise this investigation and make it difficult to continue. Therefore, I request all documents in this case be sealed, including but not limited to: this affidavit, it's exhibits, the warrants, the returns, the warrants and returns and all other documents from the originally sealed documents contained or mentioned herein as exhibits.

State of California)
City and County of San Francisco) Search Warrant

The people of the State of California, to any police officer or peace officer in the City and County of San Francisco, State of California.

Proof by affidavit having been made this day before me by Inspector Ronald Roth of the San Francisco Police Department, and it appearing therefore that there is probable cause for believing that there is now located at:

1. see attached "Premises To Be Searched"
2. The items referred to in "Exhibit A" attached hereto and incorporated herein by this reference.

And said property comes within the provisions of the California Penal Code section 1524 as noted below:

- XX (a) Subsection 1 (stolen property)
- XX (b) Subsection 2 (property or things used as a means of committing a felony)
- XX (c) Subsection 3 (property or things in the possession of a person with the intent to use it as a means of committing a public offense; or in possession of another to whom he may have delivered it)
- XX (d) Subsection 4 (property or things are evidence which shows a felony has been committed or that a particular person has committed it)

You are therefore commanded to search the premises above described for the articles and property described, and that if you find said articles and property, to bring it forthwith before me or retain it in your custody according to section 1536 of the California Penal Code.

Given under my hand and dated Dec. 8 1992

Gerard
Judge of the Municipal Court

of the City & County of San Francisco

PC 1531 Announce that you are a peace officer with search warrant.

PC 1533 Warrant can only be served between 7am and 10pm.

PC 1534 Warrant must be executed within 10 days

Superior
~~Municipal~~ Court of the City and County of
San Francisco, State of California

State of California) ss: Affidavit for
City and County of San Francisco Search Warrant

The undersigned, Insp. Ronald Roth, being duly sworn, deposes and says upon reasonable and probable cause that:

1. The following described property, to wit:

see attached "Exhibit A" attached hereto and incorporated herein by this reference.

2. Is now located at and affiant requests the issuance of a warrant to search: see attached "Premises To Be Searched"

3. And comes within the provisions of the California Penal Code Section 1524 as noted below:

- a. XX Subdivision 1 (Stolen Property)
- b. XX Subdivision 2 (Property or things used as a means committing a felony)
- c. XX Subdivision 3 (Property or things in the possession of a person with the intent to use it as a means of committing a public offense; or in possession of another to whom he may have delivered it)
- d. XX Subdivision 4 (Property or things are evidence which tends to show a felony has been committed or that a particular person has committed it)

The following facts establish the reasonable and probable cause upon which your affiant's statements are based:

see attached affidavit of Inspector Ronald Roth and incorporated by reference herein as though fully set forth hereto.

I further state and declare that I have disclosed and provided the Office of the District Attorney as part of this application for this search warrant and the Court reviewing this affidavit all known material facts, whether favorable or unfavorable to either side, including all information which may be exculpatory, and that said information is contained herein.

AFFIDAVIT OF
Inspector Ronald Roth

Your affiant, Ronald Roth, states that I am employed as a San Francisco Police Inspector and have been so employed for over 15 years, and that I have investigated over 1,000 criminal cases within this time period. I further state that I am presently assigned to the Special Investigations Division of the San Francisco Police Department. Your affiant currently teaches for the San Francisco Police Academy and for Los Medanos Community College in the area of Police Science. Your affiant holds a Supervisory P.O.S.T. certificate issued by the State of California, and in the last three years has received 80 hours of advanced investigator's training at the San Francisco Police Academy. Your affiant has also been trained by the California Department of Justice in a 36 hr. dignitary protection course and a 36 hour course on criminal intelligence.

Your affiant had been assigned to the Intelligence Division of the San Francisco Police Department from 1986 until late 1990, when the unit was disbanded. Beginning in 1988 and continuing into 1990, during the reorganization of that unit, your affiant had personal knowledge that numerous amounts of intelligence information and files on persons and organizations were systematically purged and shredded. The majority of the information purged was originally collected due to affiliation or association with a group or groups that posed a potential threat to public order and safety and were suspected of criminal activity.

Criminal intelligence reports or files, within a law enforcement entity, are generally a collection of data on an individual or group or location. These files could contain police reports, criminal histories, photographs, motor vehicle information and data, mug photos, computer print-outs, correspondence, memorandums from the maintaining agency. It is quite routine to have all of the above from other agencies in these files, as local, state, or federal law enforcement agencies often share information.

Your affiant has personal knowledge that several boxes of these documents were stored in a location in Room 558 of the Hall of Justice, 850 Bryant St., S.F., while awaiting to be shredded. This room was secured and while unstaffed, was locked and alarmed.

Your affiant also has personal knowledge that Inspector Thomas Gerard was assigned to the Intelligence Division during the time of the reorganization and Insp. Gerard had access to these files

prior to them being purged, and while they were stored (awaiting to be shredded). Your affiant also had knowledge that Insp. Gerard was assigned to Room 558 (now the Special Investigations Division) from the above listed time period until his resignation from the San Francisco Police Department on 11/23/92.

Your affiant had knowledge that while assigned to Room 558 of the Hall of Justice, Insp. Gerard had access to two C.A.B.L.E. computer terminals in which criminal history, police reports or contacts, or motor vehicle information could be queried.

On 11/25/92 your affiant talked to Detective Tim Carroll of the San Diego Sheriff's Office, Special Investigations Unit. A transcript of that conversation is attached and now referenced as "Exhibit D".

Det. Carroll told your affiant that he has worked in that unit since 1983 and regularly investigates right-wing groups such as: White Aryan Resistance, the Skinheads, etc. In his investigations Det. Carroll keeps in close contact and liaison with the Anti-Defamation League (A.D.L.). This group, among other functions, acts as a collector of information on people or organizations that are of extreme anti-Semitic philosophies and are a possible threat to the Jewish people. Det. Carroll told your affiant that one of his main contacts in the A.D.L. is a man named Roy Edward Bullock, A.K.A. "Cal". Bullock works for the A.D.L. office in San Francisco as an investigator and is nationally known within the A.D.L. for his knowledge and information gathering abilities with respect to right-wing groups. Det. Carroll routinely obtains information from Bullock as it pertains to active investigations.

Det. Carroll told your affiant that Bullock often mentions the name Tom Gerard of the San Francisco Police Dept. as his contact in San Francisco. Det. Carroll said that he personally knows Gerard and in May of 1991 Det. Carroll, Gerard, and nine other law enforcement officers went on an A.D.L. sponsored trip to Israel. Det. Carroll said that this all-expense paid trip was more or less a thank you gift and a liaison gesture by the A.D.L. to continue the close relationships it has with specific law enforcement officers from the United States. On numerous occasions both Gerard and Bullock have mentioned to Carroll that they often exchange information. No specifics were given to Det. Carroll as to how these exchanges were made.

Det. Carroll told your affiant that Bullock does most of his work at the following phone number: 415-~~415-1111~~. Det. Carroll believes that this number is the number at Bullock's residence, but is not sure. Det. Carroll often calls that number, asking Bullock for information on various subjects or groups of interest. Within a few moments Bullock provides Carroll with the

information requested (while Det. Carroll is still on the line). Bullock has told Carroll that his data base is in his home computer, and it is Det. Carroll's belief that most of Bullock's work is done at home.

Your affiant has checked the 1992 telephone directory and found the phone number (415) ~~415-1111~~ to be listed to: Paul Daniel, address: ~~14~~, San Francisco. Your affiant has researched California Department of Motor Vehicle records and found that the current address for Roy Edward Bullock is also ~~14~~, San Francisco.

Det. Carroll told your affiant that a few years ago Bullock told him that prior to the destruction of numerous San Francisco Police Department Intelligence Division files he was able to view them and record information from these files. Bullock further told Det. Carroll that Tom Gerard had allowed him to see the files. Det. Carroll told your affiant that he believed this took place about the same time that the S.F.P.D. Intelligence Division was in the process of reorganization and it was his belief that these files were the ones about to be purged.

Det. Carroll told your affiant that in the five or six years that he has known Bullock, Bullock has always been very straight forward and honest. To Det. Carroll's knowledge, all information that Bullock has ever supplied him has been very accurate and he would consider Bullock a reliable informant.

Your affiant has knowledge of and has read a Federal Bureau of Investigation report dated 11/02/92 in which a subject by the name of David M. Gurvitz was interviewed by the F.B.I. in Los Angeles on 10/30/92. According to that report, Gurvitz, from March of 1991 until October of 1992, had the job of "Fact Finding Librarian" for the A.D.L. office in Los Angeles. Gurvitz described his job as the same as Roy Bullock in San Francisco. Gurvitz said that one of his functions at the A.D.L. was to gather information about people and groups involved in extremist activity. Gurvitz listed such organizations as the Nation of Islam, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, the Aryan Nations, and various Skinhead groups as the examples of groups the A.D.L. is interested in.

Gurvitz knows Bullock well and classifies Bullock as his "mentor". While employed by the A.D.L. in Los Angeles, Gurvitz said he talked to Bullock two or three times weekly, either by phone or in person, usually exchanging information. Gurvitz told the F.B.I. that he does not personally know Tom Gerard, but he knows of Gerard through Bullock and knows that Gerard is employed by the San Francisco Police Department in an "intelligence" capacity. Bullock has told Gurvitz that Gerard shares law enforcement information with Bullock.

Gurvitz stated, as recorded in the F.B.I. report read by your affiant, that he periodically gave Bullock requests for information such as driver's license, or vehicle registration information, or criminal history data on individuals, which is available through C.L.E.T.S. He said that Bullock would always be able to supply the requested information through Gerard. Gurvitz said that virtually all of the information requested was in connection with his duties at the A.D.L. Gurvitz told the F.B.I. that the requests were so numerous that it was difficult to remember specific requests.

In the stated F.B.I. report, Gurvitz said that he recalled two instances in which he requested information through Bullock. In both of these instances the information sought did not pertain to A.D.L. duties, they were of personal nature for Gurvitz.

Gurvitz told the F.B.I. that in December of 1991, a neighbor of his in Los Angeles, named Dan Francu, was acting in an unstable or dangerous manner. Prior to knowing his name, Gurvitz was able to obtain Francu's vehicle license plate number. Gurvitz furnished that plate number to Bullock. Bullock later provided Gurvitz with Francu's name and address, and the fact that Francu had no apparent criminal history.

Gurvitz told the F.B.I. that the other incident occurred in the last year or so. Gurvitz applied for the position of advisor to a play that was being produced by the Simon Weisenthal Center in Los Angeles. The position was eventually given to a person named Rick Eaton. Gurvitz was angry that Eaton got this position as Gurvitz felt Eaton was less qualified. After discussing this matter with Bullock, Gurvitz gave Bullock the license plate number of Eaton's car to find out what he could. Bullock later furnished Gurvitz with some information, which apparently came from C.L.E.T.S.

Gurvitz acknowledged in his F.B.I. interview that the A.D.L. had received information that Gurvitz and Bullock had conversations that could be construed as threatening to Eaton. These alleged conversations ultimately resulted in the dismissal of Gurvitz from his job at the A.D.L. in October of 1992.

Gurvitz noted to the F.B.I. that in both instances above, in which he solicited information from Bullock, Gurvitz did not recall specifically asking Bullock to have Gerard obtain the information requested, it was simply understood that Gerard could and would obtain the C.L.E.T.S. information.

The F.B.I. report read by your affiant further said that Gurvitz told agents that in the last year Bullock told him that Gerard had delivered him files of the S.F.P.D. concerning the American Nazi Party. These were files, belonging to the S.F.P.D. which

which were supposed to have been destroyed. Instead of being destroyed, Bullock told Gurvitz that Gerard had given them to Bullock, so Bullock could enter the information into the computerized filing system that Bullock maintains at his residence. Gurvitz said that this filing system functions essentially as the repository of the fact finding information for the San Francisco A.D.L. office. Gurvitz further said that there is a paper filing system at the A.D.L. in San Francisco, which Bullock also uses and maintains, but the filing system in Bullock's home computer is more up to date and complete and is much better than the system at the San Francisco A.D.L. office.

Gurvitz said that the files at the A.D.L. office in Los Angeles were also on paper, and he would often read them and add to them on that basis. Included in the Los Angeles A.D.L. files would be C.L.E.T.S. information obtained by Gurvitz from Bullock. Gurvitz told the F.B.I. that he had no knowledge of Gerard taking money from the A.D.L. for any information, but he was aware that periodically the A.D.L. sponsors and pays all expenses for trips to Israel for police officers, as a way of developing liaison with them and expressing gratitude for their assistance. Gurvitz said that these trips are essentially pleasure, but was not aware that Gerard had been on one.

Based on the information provided by Gurvitz in the above referenced F.B.I. interview, your affiant had the San Francisco Police Department's Computer Information Unit of the Records Division query the S.F.P.D. data system for any queries made from the two S.F.P.D. restricted computer terminals in the Special Investigations Division office, Room 558, the Hall of Justice, with regards to specific queries on the names "Eaton", "Francu", and "Gerard". Your affiant has received the results of that data search, part of which will now be referenced as "Exhibit B".

As indicated by the print-outs contained in "Exhibit B", on 12/31/91 at 0954 hrs. a query from S.F.P.D. terminal #SID1 (located in Room 558) for vehicle registration information on California license number "239RPF". The results, as indicated in "Exhibit B" show that the registered owner of that vehicle is: "Dan Francu" of Los Angeles. The subsequent queries within the next five minutes on that terminal show that criminal history was researched on "Dan Francu" with negative results. S.F.P.D. and California state regulations require that the user of the terminal requesting state criminal histories enter his or her name and a brief justification for the request. In this "Francu" request, the following identifier was entered by the user: "Gerard, SFPD, Crim". This series of queries also indicates that Francu was researched for driver's license information.

On 12/31/91, Insp. Tom Gerard was on duty and assigned to the Special Investigations Division, Room 558, of the San Francisco Police Department.

Also indicated in "Exhibit B" was a query from S.F.P.D. terminal #INT2 (also located in Room 558) on 04/22/92 at 1602 hrs. on vehicle registration request for California license number "1PBM440". The results of that query indicate the registered owner of that vehicle to be: "Bonnie Eaton, 14000 ~~14000~~ Blvd. 14000, ~~14000~~, Calif." On 12/03/92, your affiant contacted a Rick Eaton with the same address in Sylmar and found that the car (1PBM440) was in fact his car until sold in July of 1992. Eaton further told your affiant that he was employed by the Simon Weisenthal Center in Los Angeles and he had recently learned, from his boss, that an unidentified former employee of the A.D.L. in Los Angeles had made some type of threat to him in the past.

On 04/22/92 Insp. Tom Gerard was on duty and assigned to the Special Investigations Division of the S.F.P.D., Room 558.

Your affiant has researched the names Rick Eaton and Dan Francu and found that neither were the subject of any formal San Francisco Police Department investigations. In addition to the two queries mentioned above, your affiant has located twenty additional subject queries, from the terminals in Room 558, in which the user identified himself or herself as "Gerard, SFPD", and which no formal San Francisco Police Department investigations could be located that involve these subjects. This list of 20 subjects will now be included and referenced as "Exhibit C". The actual queries in question are included in "Exhibit B".

Your affiant has researched the San Francisco Police Department Special Investigations Division daily watch reports and found that Insp. Gerard was on-duty and assigned to the S.I.D. office, Room 558, on each day in which the 20 subjects referenced in "Exhibit C" was queried on the computer terminals in Room 558.

Your affiant has knowledge of and has read Federal Bureau of Investigation report dated 11/24/92 titled "Roy Edward Bullock". In that report, synopsis are made of several F.B.I. interviews with Bullock over the last 2 1/2 years. In one of the interviews referenced in the F.B.I. report, Bullock told the F.B.I. on 09/29/92 that he has a computer located in a room on the first floor of his apartment building, which he calls his "library". He indicated that he uses this computer to store information in connection with his work.

Also mentioned in that F.B.I. report was a 09/30/92 interview in which Bullock admitted to having a "Bureau-generated" (F.B.I.) report at one time. This report, Bullock made reference to, mentioned the Nation of Islam and was obtained from the A.D.L. office in New York. Bullock further said that although he no longer had possession of that report he had entered some information from that report into his home computer. He said

when he was done with the report, he took it to the San Francisco A.D.L. office where he shredded it. On 11/5/92 in another F.B.I. interview Bullock told the agent that he had in fact gone back and looked at the F.B.I. document in question (previously reported as shredded by Bullock) and verified that it is not a classified document. This time, Bullock told the F.B.I. that the document had been provided by the A.D.L. office in Los Angeles.

Your affiant has interviewed Officer Sandi Bargioni of the Special Investigations Division of the San Francisco Police Department. Officer Bargioni told your affiant that over the last several years, she has had many contacts with the San Francisco A.D.L. office. A few years ago Officer Bargioni was invited to this A.D.L. office to meet some of the personnel there. At this time Roy Edward Bullock was introduced to her as doing work for the A.D.L. Although it was not formally explained, Officer Bargioni told me that it was understood that Bullock was working for the A.D.L. in some sort of intelligence capacity. After that occasion Bullock supplied Officer Bargioni with various amounts of information on some right-winged groups, such as Skinheads and the White Aryan Resistance.

Based on the facts above along with your affiant's training and experience, it is your affiant's belief that Insp. Tom Gerard did physically deliver to Roy Bullock restricted San Francisco Police Department Intelligence files which were awaiting destruction. It is also your affiant's belief that Tom Gerard accessed restricted law enforcement computers and passed along this unauthorized information to Bullock. It is your affiant's belief that Bullock, acting as an agent of the A.D.L., solicited various amounts of unauthorized law enforcement information from Insp. Gerard. It is believed that Insp. Gerard received, as a benefit, a trip to Israel from the A.D.L., as a reward for conveying restricted law enforcement information. It is believed that all or some of the following criminal violations may have occurred:

Penal Code: 502c.2, 502c.3, 502c.7, 11142, 11143, 32, 653f, 13302, 13303, 13304, 496, 499c, 459, 664/182

Government Code: 6200, 6201, 6250

Calif. Vehicle Code: 1808.45

Your affiant has knowledge that Insp. Tom Gerard, in the early 1980's, left the S.F.P.D. for a period of about three years and worked for the United States Central Intelligence Agency in an intelligence capacity. Your affiant has also developed

information that Roy Bullock has worked in his intelligence capacity, gathering information for over twenty years. Based on experience and training your affiant knows that both individuals would most likely place a high value on the intelligence information they develop and maintain. It is common for people with similar backgrounds to maintain and safeguard their data bases. To properly do that they would tend to keep back-up files or data bases at a separate location from the main source in case of destruction, theft, or emergency. Your affiant has knowledge that Insp. Gerard had a personal word processor in which he used to process information. Insp. Gerard would always be in the habit of placing his data on floppy disks. It is believed Gerard would keep these disks at a "safe" location. It is believed Insp. Gerard may have access to a storage locker, rental space, or safe deposit box in which this data may be stored. That probability is also present with respect to Bullock, as persons such as him are only as valuable as their information they provide.

Your affiant has learned from experience that people such as Bullock may carry or conceal on their person, keys to other storage locations or safe deposit boxes, notes, notebooks, check registers, or any other correspondence that may contain computer access codes, lock combinations, or passwords to computer systems, or storage facilities. It is therefore requested that a search of Bullock's person be also authorized.

Your affiant has talked to investigators, both in private and in the public sectors. It is common knowledge that restricted law enforcement information has a value to people who need it, but don't have access to it. This information is often difficult to obtain for use by private subjects or organizations. One source has told your affiant that on the black market, criminal and Dept. of Motor Vehicles information on one person could run up to \$200 per inquiry.


It is believed by your affiant that pertinent evidence to the above referenced felonies will be found at the locations searched, attached and listed in "Premises To Be Searched". It is expected that these items, listed in "Exhibit A", will be located at Bullock's residence, 3674-16th St. #5 (verified by the F.B.I. and D.M.V. records) and or the residence of Tom Gerard, Berth 38 West Pier Kappas Marina, Sausalito (verified by S.F.P.D. records). It is also believed that Bullock has access to the San Francisco A.D.L. office and that he does maintain their filing system, therefore it is believed that much of the evidence will be located there, 121 Steuart St. #302 (verified with affiant's personal knowledge). It is believed that at that A.D.L. location, travel and financial records will be located that will verify a financial relationship between Bullock and the A.D.L. and the A.D.L. and Gerard, with respect to the 1991 trip to Israel.

It should be noted that your affiant has developed and verified information that on 12/04/92 the A.D.L. is scheduled to move its San Francisco office to 720 Market St. 8th floor, S.F. For several days following that date it is expected that A.D.L. property and files will be located at both locations.

It is expected that much of the solicited restricted criminal information and files will be located at the Los Angeles A.D.L. office as well, 10495 Santa Monica Blvd., L.A. (verified by telephone records and L.A.P.D.). Much of the information solicited by David Gurvitz was for use in the files at the Los Angeles A.D.L. office.

Your affiant prays that a search warrant be issued commanding a search of all locations listed on attached: "Premises To Be Searched" for the items articulated in "Exhibit A".

Wherefore: Affiant prays that a search warrant issue commanding the search of the premises, persons and vehicles designated for the property or things above described in "Exhibit A" and that such property be brought before a magistrate or retained as provided in section 1536 of the California Penal Code.


Ronald Roth
Inspector Ronald Roth
Affiant

Subscribed and sworn to before me on this 8th day of December, 1992.

James J. Sweeney
Judge of the Municipal Court
In and for the City and County of San Francisco,
State of California

Locations To Be Searched

1) ~~3674 Steuart St.~~ Apartment ~~40~~, San Francisco, Calif. and accompanying storage locations or rooms within that building under the control of Roy Edward Bullock.

3-story beige wooden apartment building with darker beige trim. The numbers 3674 clearly printed on the front door. Including any vehicles owned or under the control of Roy Bullock.

2) 121 Steuart St. Suite #302, San Francisco, Calif.

6-story brown brick office building. The words: Jewish Community Federation and the numbers 121 clearly printed on the building.

3) 720 Market St. 8th Floor, San Francisco, Calif.

10-story brown office building with brass colored trim on the front door with numbers 720 clearly printed at the entrance.

4) ~~1000 Kappa Marina~~ Kappas Marina, Sausalito, Calif.

Single story wood sided houseboat, gang-plank on right side, clearly marked with numbers "38", 2 blue canvas awnings on south side entrance door. Including any vehicles, or boats owned or under the control of Tom Gerard, and any Kappas Marina storage area assigned to Berth 38.

5) 10495 Santa Monica Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.

4-story brown brick building on the N/E corner of Santa Monica Blvd. & Thayer St. with large gold block letters "ADL" printed on the front glass doors.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 2/8/93EXHIBIT B

FBI INTERVIEW OF ROY BULLOCK

On January 22, 1993, ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, also known as CAL, was interviewed by Special Agents JOEL A. MOSS and JAY E. COLVIN of the San Francisco, California office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The interview took place at the law offices of Landels, Ripley and Diamond, located at 350 Steuart Street, San Francisco, California. Also present during the interview were attorneys ROBERT J. BREAKSTONE and DONALD P. MARGOLIS of the above law firm, representing BULLOCK.

BULLOCK was advised of the names and official identities of the interviewing agents, and of the nature of the interview. Prior to providing any information, BULLOCK was advised by attorney BREAKSTONE that this interview was voluntary and that there were no promises which the interviewing agents could make to BULLOCK, that the interviewing agents would be making a report of the interview, and that anything BULLOCK said could be used against BULLOCK in a court of law. BULLOCK thereafter provided the following information:

BULLOCK is employed as an investigator for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL). In ADL parlance, investigative functions are also referred to as Fact Finding, and investigators such as BULLOCK are called Fact Finders.

BULLOCK has been performing investigative functions for the ADL since 1954. At that time BULLOCK was living in Indianapolis, Indiana. BULLOCK there became exposed to and began reading material concerning anti-Semitism. BULLOCK recalled one such thing he read was a book called "Under Cover," which dealt with anti-Semitism in the 1930s. BULLOCK began obtaining and reading more material on anti-Semitism, and it did not take him long to acquire a number of such publications.

BULLOCK read in a newspaper about the ADL and ROBERT GORDON, who headed the ADL office in Indianapolis. BULLOCK contacted the ADL in Indianapolis, and offered his services to try to obtain information about organizations advocating anti-Semitism. BULLOCK had already been in contact with some such

Investigation on 1/22/93 at San Francisco, CA File # 264B-SF-100978by SA JOEL A. MOSS
SA JAY E. COLVIN JAM/mac Date dictated 1/23/93

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groups as a way of acquiring reading material and information on their anti-Semitic views.

BULLOCK's offer of assistance was accepted by the ADL. BULLOCK worked on an unpaid, volunteer basis, providing information on groups of interest to the ADL. BULLOCK's income at the time was derived through employment in his family's business, the Bullock Radio and Electric Company.

BULLOCK conducted investigations for the Indianapolis ADL office from 1954 to 1960. Also, during some of this time, BULLOCK provided, on an unpaid basis, various types of information to the Indianapolis Office of the FBI. BULLOCK explained that in 1957 he attended the Sixth World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Before he went, he contacted the Indianapolis FBI Office to advise of his upcoming travel, and to offer to provide information about it. Although BULLOCK can no longer recall the name of the FBI agent with whom he dealt, the FBI was interested in BULLOCK's offer. When BULLOCK returned from the above festival, he gave the FBI a briefing on it.

BULLOCK continued to provide information to the FBI until this relationship "petered out" a few months thereafter. BULLOCK corresponded with some American communists who had been at the above festival, and he provided the FBI with the results of this correspondence.

BULLOCK also specifically recalled providing the FBI with information on correspondence he had with BRENNLEY H. BEAN, who was head of the Labor Party in British Guyana.

In addition to the information he provided to the FBI in Indianapolis about communist and left wing activities, BULLOCK also provided some information about right wing organizations. BULLOCK recalled attending a convention of a right wing organization in Louisville, Kentucky. BULLOCK shot some sixteen millimeter motion picture film there, which he then shared with the Indianapolis FBI Office, and with the ADL.

In 1960, BULLOCK moved from Indiana to southern California. This move was a personal choice of BULLOCK's and was not done at the behest of the ADL. Nevertheless, BULLOCK did continue performing investigations for the ADL, though now

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reporting to HILTON SINN of the Los Angeles ADL office.

Upon arriving in southern California, BULLOCK lived first in Port Hueneme, and then in Seal Beach, and he conducted investigations for the ADL in the southern California area. SINN arranged for BULLOCK to receive a regular payment from the ADL so that BULLOCK would not have to support himself through other employment. BULLOCK recalled the ADL began at that time paying him \$75.00 per week. That increased over the years, until about four or five years ago he began getting the amount he currently receives of \$550.00 per week. BULLOCK noted that ever since the ADL began paying him for his work, the payments have been made in a way designed to disguise the ADL as the source. The method, which is still in use, is for the ADL to give money for BULLOCK to an attorney in Beverly Hills, California, named BRUCE HOCHMAN. HOCHMAN then writes BULLOCK a check drawn on the account of Bruce Hochman and Associates.

When BULLOCK was living in southern California, his investigative focus was primarily on right wing organizations. As examples of such organizations about which the ADL wanted information, BULLOCK listed The American Nazi Party, The John Birch Society, The Minutemen and Colonel WILLIAM P. GALE's California Rangers. BULLOCK recalled the ADL was also then concerned about supporters of Alabama Governor GEORGE WALLACE.

BULLOCK collected information on the above groups and others. He did this by personally attending meetings of the groups and by corresponding with them. BULLOCK almost always used his true name when engaged in such activity, though he recalled he once used the name ELMER FINK when corresponding with GEORGE WALLACE's supporters.

When BULLOCK first began working for the Los Angeles ADL office, that office was located on Vermont Street. MILTON SINN did not want to risk BULLOCK being seen entering the ADL office, so he insisted on meeting BULLOCK in a car near the ADL office. Eventually BULLOCK persuaded SINN this was unnecessary and BULLOCK began going into the Los Angeles ADL office to make his reports. BULLOCK does believe that people engaged in far right wing activities are basically suspicious of others, and BULLOCK has in the past been accused by such people of being a "spy," but he has never considered it worth the trouble to make heavy use of fictitious names or to stay away from ADL offices.

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BULLOCK has always provided the ADL with written reports on the activities he performs for them. He submits his reports to the ADL office nearest to where he lives. That office then forwards the reports, or information from them, to ADL Headquarters in New York, New York as appropriate. BULLOCK has occasionally been called to appear at ADL Headquarters in order to personally provide information about matters with which he is familiar. BULLOCK noted the person in charge of Fact Finding at ADL Headquarters is IRWIN SUALL. SUALL has been in this position for many years and BULLOCK is personally acquainted with him.

BULLOCK is sometimes called upon to travel outside the area where he lives in pursuit of ADL interests. When this happens the ADL pays all travel expenses. BULLOCK recalled that while living in southern California he became acquainted with a woman affiliated with the John Birch Society office in Los Angeles. Through this acquaintance BULLOCK was able to gain access to the Boston, Massachusetts office of the John Birch Society. In that office BULLOCK observed a file marked "ADL." BULLOCK reported his findings to IZ ZACK, then head of the Boston ADL office. This gave rise within the ADL to speculation that the ADL had a "leak" or had somehow been penetrated by the John Birch Society. Other places BULLOCK has traveled for the ADL include Colorado and Germany.

BULLOCK had only minimal contact with law enforcement personnel while living in southern California. He had no contact with the FBI. He did once try to assist the Los Angeles Police Department to identify some people in some photographs. That was done at the request of HARVEY SCHECHTER, who took over as head of Fact Finding for the ADL in Los Angeles (replacing MILTON SINN) while BULLOCK was living in southern California.

Even though BULLOCK did not have much contact with law enforcement personnel while living in southern California, he did apparently become known to them. This, BULLOCK believes, is what caused him to receive at his Seal Beach residence in about 1964 a visit from a man identifying himself as CHARLES ROUBETILLE. ROUBETILLE said he was a recruiter employed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He said he traveled to college campuses to seek applicants for CIA employment. He told BULLOCK he had just stopped by to talk. He asked BULLOCK questions about the American Nazi Party and about British Guyana. He did not suggest BULLOCK seek employment with the CIA. BULLOCK added that

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later, ROUBETILLE became the chief of the police department in Huntington Beach, California.

One other law enforcement official with whom BULLOCK had contact while living in southern California was named SHERMAN COOPER or HARRY COOPER. COOPER was head of the California Criminal Identification and Information Bureau. He was collecting information to be used in an "anti-paramilitary" law which was later passed. The ADL arranged for COOPER to talk to BULLOCK, and BULLOCK provided COOPER with some information on right wing matters.

BULLOCK recalled that although his investigative targets were primarily right wing when he first arrived in Southern California, this began to change somewhat after HARVEY SCHECHTER replaced MILTON SINN. SCHECHTER, especially during the last five years BULLOCK lived in Southern California, encouraged BULLOCK to also investigate left wing organizations, and BULLOCK did as requested.

BULLOCK added that his nickname, CAL, did not originate until after he moved to California. Others in the ADL began to call him that, perhaps because he had moved to California. BULLOCK therefore adopted it as a nickname, and began signing his ADL reports with that name (though utilizing three lower case letters: c-a-l). He noted the name is not short for anything in particular, and is definitely not short for "CALZONE," as the San Francisco Examiner newspaper reported on January 22, 1993.

In approximately 1978 or 1979 BULLOCK moved from southern California to San Francisco. He has lived in San Francisco ever since. The move was a personal choice and was not at the behest of the ADL. In fact, shortly after arriving in San Francisco, BULLOCK was told by IRWIN SUALL that the ADL might not be able to afford to continue paying him as there did not appear to be enough work for him to do. Before long, however, the ADL asked BULLOCK to begin investigating the Posse Comitatus organization, and it was never again suggested that the ADL might have to discontinue paying BULLOCK. BULLOCK said the ADL had been given a grant by the AFL-CIO to investigate the Posse Comitatus.

BULLOCK noted that when he arrived in San Francisco, there was already another ADL Fact Finder working in the area.

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This person had been working to infiltrate the local Arab community, however, his efforts were exposed and he left the ADL and went to work as an attorney. This left BULLOCK as the only Fact Finder in San Francisco. BULLOCK added that when he arrived in San Francisco, the San Francisco ADL office, in his opinion, "wasn't much." Since then it has improved steadily, especially the past several years under the leadership of its head, RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT.

BULLOCK, too, has investigated Arab groups on behalf of the ADL since he moved to San Francisco. One such group is the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee. The ADL asked BULLOCK to investigate this group based on the belief that it was one of many Arab organizations in the United States which was receiving funding from sources in the Middle East. BULLOCK investigated, and did find some evidence to confirm this.

Another Arab organization BULLOCK has investigated for the ADL is the National Association of Arab Americans. Approximately six years ago the ADL had BULLOCK travel to Washington, D.C. to attend this group's annual congress. The ADL thought this group was receiving money from the Middle East and wanted BULLOCK to find the "smoking gun" to prove it. BULLOCK never really could prove this allegation but from what he does know he believes it is true. BULLOCK was accepted there, and was even selected as the head of a delegation which went to visit United States Congresswoman NANCY PELOSI. BULLOCK noted it was around this time that WILLIS A. CARTO of the Liberty Lobby organization published an article in that group's "Spotlight" newsletter in which BULLOCK was denounced as an ADL agent. BULLOCK admitted he is personally acquainted with CARTO.

Although BULLOCK has been employed full-time with the ADL in San Francisco, he has also developed a side business to supplement his income. BULLOCK explained that he and a partner, PAUL DANIEL, operate a business trading in Asian art, under the name East-West Traders. BULLOCK and DANIEL live together, and they operate this business out of their residence.

BULLOCK reiterated that he has always furnished his local ADL office with written reports concerning his investigations. If his reports incorporate information BULLOCK received from the police, and BULLOCK cites the source, BULLOCK always refers to the source as "official friends."

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The San Francisco ADL office did not discourage BULLOCK from having contacts with law enforcement personnel, the way the Los Angeles ADL office had. By the time RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT came to head the San Francisco ADL office, it was accepted that BULLOCK would have contacts with local police. Such contacts developed slowly. The ADL was still somewhat concerned about protecting BULLOCK's identity, even within the law enforcement community. By about 1985, however, BULLOCK's identity as an ADL investigator became openly known to the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), as a result of BULLOCK's assistance to SFPD in solving a criminal bombing case involving one COY RAY PHELPS.

SFPD Inspector THOMAS JEFFREY GERARD was one of the investigating officers in the PHELPS case. BULLOCK, however, did not meet GERARD until about six months after PHELPS was prosecuted. BULLOCK met GERARD one day at the San Francisco ADL office. When BULLOCK arrived at the office GERARD was already there talking to HIRSCHHAUT, about a matter unknown to BULLOCK. HIRSCHHAUT introduced BULLOCK to GERARD.

BULLOCK recalled that he instantly liked GERARD. They had lunch together, at a McDonald's restaurant, the same day HIRSCHHAUT introduced them. At lunch they discussed their jobs, and mutual interests, and agreed that they would remain in contact. BULLOCK characterized his contacts with GERARD, from then to the present, as professional.

BULLOCK likes GERARD and considers GERARD his friend. He has been to GERARD's residence and knows GERARD's wife JULIE. Nevertheless, their relationship is based on their mutual work interests and willingness to supply each other with information of value, and BULLOCK would not characterize the relationship as "social."

When GERARD was introduced to BULLOCK, GERARD was assigned to the SFPD Intelligence Unit. His main area of interest was right-wing political organizations, though he would also occasionally have interest in a left wing group, such as No Business As Usual (NBAU), which BULLOCK described as a splinter group of the Revolutionary Communist Party. BULLOCK, as an ADL investigator, would have access to information about such groups, and he would share it with GERARD. BULLOCK would provide GERARD with information from ADL reports, or would on occasion give

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GERARD copies of complete ADL reports. BULLOCK said that in regard to NBAU, BULLOCK "developed" some people in that group, and he telephonically provided information on NBAU to GERARD.

GERARD would also supply information of value to BULLOCK. Within six months of their introduction GERARD was, for example, providing BULLOCK with access to computerized criminal history, vehicle and driver's license information, to which GERARD had access as a police officer. BULLOCK estimated GERARD has supplied him with results of about fifty drivers license and/or vehicle registration checks based on BULLOCK's requests. Most of these have been from California Department of Motor Vehicles records, though some may have been from State of Arizona records. GERARD has also run a lesser number of criminal history checks for BULLOCK. BULLOCK recalled one person whose criminal history GERARD checked for him was named CARL HOERLER. BULLOCK recalled that GERARD determined HOERLER had a record in this regard, but it was so old that it was not in the California criminal history computer data base, so had to be looked up manually. GERARD caused this manual review to be done, and gave the results to BULLOCK.

GERARD would always fulfill BULLOCK's requests for information if he could. BULLOCK did not know if GERARD obtained for him any criminal history information from the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) computer system. BULLOCK said he is not familiar with NCIC and so would not have known to ask GERARD to check it for him, and he does not recall GERARD mentioning NCIC to him.

In asking GERARD to give him information from California Department of Motor Vehicles and State criminal history records, BULLOCK knew he was not entitled to receive it as he is not an "officer of the court." GERARD and BULLOCK never discussed BULLOCK's lack of authority to receive this information. It was understood that BULLOCK would be very careful with what he did with the information GERARD gave him, and that BULLOCK would not release it except to the ADL or other law enforcement officers. BULLOCK added that GERARD did once warn him concerning having contacts with one particular law enforcement official. BULLOCK knew of a State of California official named [redacted] and that she was supposed to be knowledgeable concerning right wing matters. BULLOCK might have been interested in talking to her about such matters, but GERARD

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suggested he not, as [redacted] might not be careful concerning how she disseminates information she may learn from BULLOCK. BULLOCK said there has never been a "leak" of such information from him, and it has never been provided by him to "third parties" or sold by him, except to the South African Government (see below).

Computerized law enforcement records were not the only types of records to which GERARD gave BULLOCK access. GERARD also gave BULLOCK information from SFPD files, including giving BULLOCK complete files, and GERARD gave BULLOCK police surveillance photographs of demonstrators. GERARD also supplied BULLOCK with information concerning the holders of Post Office boxes in which BULLOCK was interested. BULLOCK assumed this information came from the United States Postal Service, but he never questioned GERARD about the source. BULLOCK was just glad to have the information.

The complete SFPD files BULLOCK received from GERARD concerned the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP) from 1974 to 1976 or 1977. These were files which the SFPD was supposed to destroy as part of a change in SFPD policy regarding the types of intelligence investigations the SFPD could conduct and information they could maintain. Rather than allow the NSWPP files to be destroyed, GERARD gave them to BULLOCK at BULLOCK's residence. This was in about 1989. GERARD asked BULLOCK if BULLOCK wanted them. BULLOCK replied that he would "keep them" for GERARD, and GERARD turned them over to him.

BULLOCK examined the NSWPP files, and entered into his personal computer information from them that BULLOCK did not already have. BULLOCK explained that he first got a computer in about 1987. He began storing information and writing reports on it, instead of doing everything on paper. BULLOCK has in this way amassed a large amount of information. He has information on left wing and right wing and Arab organizations and personalities. BULLOCK estimated his computerized "Right Wing" file contains names of about 6,000 people. Some are members of right wing organizations; others may only have written to a right wing organization to request information. As BULLOCK would acquire more information about people in his computer, or about people he did not yet know of, he would add to his data files. He used the NSWPP files for this purpose.

Among Arab groups which are listed in BULLOCK's

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computer are the Arab Palestine Fund and the November 29 Committee on Palestine. BULLOCK got a list of names associated with the Arab Palestine Fund not from GERARD (though GERARD had dealt with this group) but from an anonymous source in Berkeley, California. BULLOCK got information on the November 29 Committee on Palestine by taking trash from that organization's office on Valencia Street in San Francisco. BULLOCK would write reports based on what he found in the trash, and would share the reports with GERARD. BULLOCK also gave the trash to GERARD for GERARD to examine. GERARD would later return the trash to BULLOCK.

BULLOCK noted that the SFPD files and photographs, which the SFPD recently recovered from his residence via a search warrant, are the same ones GERARD gave him. BULLOCK did not destroy any of the SFPD files GERARD gave him, even after BULLOCK learned that the FBI was conducting an investigation into his and GERARD's activities. BULLOCK's computer, also seized by the SFPD, is the same one into which he has entered information as described above.

BULLOCK did not destroy files and information given to him by GERARD because he is philosophically opposed to the elimination of the ability of police to conduct investigations into organizations which BULLOCK believes are truly dangerous. BULLOCK believes it is a mistake to destroy information already collected about such groups. BULLOCK cited as an example the riots which took place in San Francisco in 1992 following the acquittal of the police officers in the "RODNEY KING" case in Simi Valley, California. The Revolutionary Communist Party was involved in much of the violence in San Francisco, yet the SFPD was without much of the intelligence they should have had about this group because its files on this group had been destroyed. BULLOCK knows from talking to GERARD that GERARD feels the same way about the destruction of SFPD intelligence files. They believe it is a mistake to let this information be lost.

Although some of the information from the SFPD files GERARD gave him ended up in reports BULLOCK wrote for the ADL (especially regarding HOERLER and one other person), BULLOCK does not recall that he told RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT or IRWIN SUALL or anyone else in the ADL that he had them, with the possible exception of Fact Finder DAVID GURVITZ of the Los Angeles ADL office.

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BULLOCK has no knowledge that GERARD has ever received money from the ADL. The only thing of value BULLOCK knows of GERARD receiving from the ADL was a trip to Israel in 1991. BULLOCK has not paid any money to GERARD in exchange for GERARD's providing BULLOCK with law enforcement information. BULLOCK and GERARD have taken turns buying lunches for each other during their meetings. Also, in about 1990, BULLOCK borrowed \$5,000.00 from GERARD. BULLOCK used the money to buy some works of the artist JACQUET. BULLOCK resold the pieces and repaid the \$5,000.00 to GERARD, along with \$500.00 in interest, in February, 1991.

There was, however, between 1987 and 1991, one other source of funds for both BULLOCK and GERARD. That source was the government of the Republic of South Africa.

In about 1986, BULLOCK learned that the Consul General of the South African Consulate in Los Angeles would be speaking in Las Vegas, Nevada, at a meeting organized by right wing extremist WILLIS CARTO. Suspecting that the Consul General did not know who WILLIS CARTO is, BULLOCK suggested to GERARD that they might want to warn the South Africans. GERARD agreed and informed the Consul General, who canceled his appearance. Later, GERARD told BULLOCK he (GERARD) had received a letter of thanks from the Consul General.

Around four to six months later, probably in 1987, GERARD telephoned BULLOCK one day. GERARD said a South African intelligence officer was in San Francisco and wanted to meet BULLOCK if BULLOCK was agreeable. BULLOCK agreed to meet the officer, so GERARD drove (in his personal car) to BULLOCK's residence and picked up BULLOCK. Together they drove to the San Francisco hotel where the South African was staying. BULLOCK cannot now recall which hotel it was, but believes it may have been in the Fisherman's Wharf area of the city.

BULLOCK, GERARD and the South African, who called himself Mr. HUMPHRIES, met in HUMPHRIES' hotel room. HUMPHRIES said he was interested in acquiring information on anti-apartheid activities in the United States. BULLOCK recalled HUMPHRIES specifically mentioned being interested in an organization called the San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee, and wanting to know about another group which was advocating divestments regarding corporations doing business with South Africa. HUMPHRIES, who

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indicated he was from New York, did not appear to know very much about the anti-apartheid movement on the West Coast. HUMPHRIES offered to pay BULLOCK \$150.00 per month in exchange for information. BULLOCK noted that much of the information HUMPHRIES said he wanted was already in the possession of BULLOCK and the ADL. BULLOCK agreed to HUMPHRIES' proposal, but he told HUMPHRIES that since he (BULLOCK) was personally opposed to apartheid, the only reason he was agreeing to provide information was that it appeared the South African Government was making progress in ending that system. BULLOCK indicated that if it appeared this progress was being reversed, BULLOCK's cooperation would cease.

HUMPHRIES gave BULLOCK a Post Office box number in Greenwich, New York, to which BULLOCK should send information. BULLOCK could not recall the number or name which went with the box, except that it was a man's name, probably with the first initial "J".

GERARD, who was present throughout the meeting, was not asked by HUMPHRIES to provide any information, nor was he offered money by HUMPHRIES in BULLOCK's presence. Apparently, though, GERARD had met HUMPHRIES before BULLOCK did. HUMPHRIES knew GERARD was a police officer. GERARD also told HUMPHRIES that he (GERARD) had been employed by the CIA. BULLOCK heard GERARD tell HUMPHRIES some information about where in the world GERARD had been sent on CIA assignments.

This meeting with HUMPHRIES lasted only about twenty minutes. Although the topic was not specifically addressed, BULLOCK understood the relationship between him, GERARD and HUMPHRIES was to be confidential. HUMPHRIES did not give BULLOCK any money at this meeting, but indicated he would bring the money to BULLOCK at their next meeting. When the meeting was over, GERARD drove BULLOCK home. On the way to BULLOCK's residence, BULLOCK offered to split with GERARD the money HUMPHRIES said he would give to BULLOCK. GERARD declined that offer.

Shortly after the meeting, BULLOCK sent to HUMPHRIES a copy of the official newsletter of the San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee. Over the next few months, BULLOCK also sent other items to HUMPHRIES. BULLOCK emphasized that the only thing he ever gave HUMPHRIES (or HUMPHRIES' successor, described below) was what BULLOCK termed "public source" information. BULLOCK

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denied ever giving the South Africans any "confidential" information. As an example, BULLOCK noted one of the things HUMPHRIES and his successor were interested in was the relationship between San Francisco attorney MELVIN BELL, BELL's wife, and South African bishop and anti-apartheid activist DESMOND TUTU. The South Africans wanted to know everything about the relationship between the BELLIS and TUTU, especially any sexual impropriety. When a column by journalist HERB CAEN appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle newspaper which discussed Mrs. BELL, TUTU, and the Sultan of Brunei, BULLOCK rewrote the column to make it appear to be his own work, and submitted it to HUMPHRIES.

A second meeting with HUMPHRIES occurred about six months after the first. BULLOCK had expected HUMPHRIES to return to San Francisco in four or five months. About three months after the first meeting, HUMPHRIES had telephoned BULLOCK at BULLOCK's home and said he would come to San Francisco "later". When HUMPHRIES did finally arrive, he telephoned BULLOCK from his San Francisco hotel room to say he was ready to meet. The call came in the late afternoon or early evening. BULLOCK telephoned GERARD, GERARD picked up BULLOCK, and they met with HUMPHRIES that same day, at HUMPHRIES' hotel room (Again, BULLOCK could not recall the name of the hotel).

At this second meeting, HUMPHRIES thanked BULLOCK for the material he had sent (probably a total of three reports). He also asked questions about the BELLIS and about divestment pressure groups. HUMPHRIES and GERARD traded "war stories," with GERARD describing his adventures in the CIA and the SFPD. BULLOCK complained to HUMPHRIES about the money HUMPHRIES had promised to pay, as it had been six months since their last meeting and BULLOCK had not yet received any money.

HUMPHRIES then gave BULLOCK \$500.00 in cash, apologized and promised that the money situation would get better. BULLOCK at this time may also have given HUMPHRIES some reports BULLOCK had written from material contained in local media reports.

HUMPHRIES also said that he was being reassigned. Then, either HUMPHRIES or GERARD told BULLOCK that a new South African diplomat would be assigned to handle BULLOCK (BULLOCK noted that, while he knew HUMPHRIES was a diplomat, he never was told HUMPHRIES' diplomatic title.)

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This second meeting with HUMPHRIES lasted about thirty minutes. It was the last time BULLOCK met with HUMPHRIES. BULLOCK described HUMPHRIES as a white male, in his early fifties, about five feet, ten inches tall and of average weight. He had greying hair, sideburns, a reddish complexion, and wore glasses. He was also "thick jowled," and he spoke very good, though accented, English.

When his second meeting with HUMPHRIES was over, GERARD drove BULLOCK back to BULLOCK's residence. On the way there, BULLOCK asked GERARD why HUMPHRIES was so interested in the information he had asked for that he was willing to pay money for it. GERARD advised BULLOCK to just accept the situation and the money, as it is a characteristic of intelligence officers to want to acquire all the information they can.

BULLOCK said he was somewhat politically uncomfortable dealing with the South Africans, and he did not think the money he was getting was that good. BULLOCK indicated to GERARD he was not sure he wanted to continue supplying information to the South Africans. GERARD, however, encouraged BULLOCK not to quit. BULLOCK asked GERARD if he would like half of the money HUMPHRIES had paid him. GERARD said he would, and BULLOCK gave him \$250.00 in cash. They agreed that from that point, they would split equally any money the South Africans paid.

After the second meeting with HUMPHRIES, BULLOCK sent a couple more reports to the above Post Office box. Then, at about 7:00 a.m. one day about six months later, BULLOCK received a telephone call at his residence. The caller was a male, who spoke with an accent and identified himself as "LOUIE from South Africa." He said he was in San Francisco and he asked BULLOCK if they could meet. LOUIE was staying at a hotel on Castro Street, near BULLOCK's residence. BULLOCK agreed to meet, and drove over to LOUIE's hotel. BULLOCK did not take GERARD with him.

BULLOCK met LOUIE in LOUIE's room. LOUIE was a white male who appeared to be about thirty-five years old. He was clean shaven and had what BULLOCK termed "dark features." He was well dressed, in a sweater and slacks.

When BULLOCK entered the room, LOUIE turned a radio up loud, and sat close to BULLOCK, evidently trying to make sure they could not be overheard. After a short time, BULLOCK

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suggested they leave the hotel and talk elsewhere. LOUIE was reluctant, but BULLOCK indicated he had little tolerance for "spy stuff." Finally LOUIE agreed to allow BULLOCK to drive him around and show him a bit of San Francisco.

They left LOUIE's hotel and drove around for a while in BULLOCK's car, stopping for coffee at a cafe in the Presidio of San Francisco. BULLOCK learned that LOUIE was married, had two children, and that his wife had an import/export business in Johannesburg, South Africa. LOUIE said he was attached to the South African Consulate in New York City. He said the operations of his office were separate from those in the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C. He admitted he was with South African Intelligence, and that he had replaced HUMPHRIES in New York. BULLOCK asked him if he was the "passport officer" at the Consulate. LOUIE neither confirmed nor denied this.

LOUIE appeared to be more "liberal" to BULLOCK. He agreed with BULLOCK that blacks must eventually share power with whites in South Africa. LOUIE added, though, that the African National Congress (ANC) could not take part in the power sharing, as they are terrorists.

LOUIE tried to get BULLOCK to agree to use some basic precautions in dealing with him. LOUIE, for example, wanted BULLOCK to obtain a local Post Office box and some local coin telephone numbers, or other "safer" numbers so LOUIE would not have to contact BULLOCK at BULLOCK's residence. BULLOCK refused, reiterating that he did not want to play "spy games." He told LOUIE that LOUIE would just have to contact BULLOCK at home.

BULLOCK may have given LOUIE a couple of reports at this meeting, but LOUIE also told BULLOCK he wanted him to increase his production. LOUIE reiterated the same areas of interest that HUMPHRIES had described (anti-apartheid groups, South African business divestments, and the BELLI/TUTU relationship). He told BULLOCK that South African Intelligence had another informant on the West Coast. LOUIE described this person as a young man who was a member of an organization called Young Americans For Freedom. He said this person had been targeted against an organization in Oakland, California called Technica. LOUIE told BULLOCK he would like him to also report on Technica.

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BULLOCK complained to LOUIE about the money the South Africans were (not) paying him. LOUIE responded by giving BULLOCK a white envelope containing about \$750.00. The money was largely in the form of \$100 bills. LOUIE asked BULLOCK if he would like to be paid in South African Krugerrands. BULLOCK said he would rather have American currency.

The meeting with LOUIE lasted a total of about twenty-five minutes. BULLOCK then drove LOUIE back to his hotel. BULLOCK telephoned GERARD the same day, and told him of the meeting with LOUIE. GERARD came to BULLOCK's residence (possibly that same day, or the next), asked BULLOCK about the "tasking" he had received from LOUIE, and split with BULLOCK the money LOUIE had provided.

There were additional meetings between LOUIE and BULLOCK and GERARD. BULLOCK estimated the total number of meetings with LOUIE to be six or seven, all in approximately 1989, 1990 and 1991. All were in San Francisco and the last was in 1991. BULLOCK stated he would be willing to provide a detailed description of each meeting. He said GERARD was present at all the meetings with LOUIE, except for the first (described above) and the last. BULLOCK estimated HUMPHRIES and LOUIE provided about \$15,000-\$16,000 in cash in total, which BULLOCK split equally with GERARD. BULLOCK said he did not discuss with GERARD what GERARD did with his half of the money. BULLOCK did not think any of the meetings with the South Africans which GERARD attended with him took place while GERARD was supposed to be on duty with SFPD. BULLOCK believes this because the meetings were in the late afternoon/early evening and BULLOCK knows GERARD generally worked a daytime shift with SFPD. BULLOCK also said that no one in the ADL was aware of his and GERARD's relationship with the South Africans.

BULLOCK believes he was the supplier of at least ninety percent of the material the South Africans got from him and GERARD. BULLOCK knows that GERARD did send some material to the South Africans himself, as GERARD told him so. BULLOCK said he did not know what GERARD had supplied to the South Africans independent of BULLOCK.

BULLOCK also knew that GERARD maintained a Post Office box near GERARD's residence, which BULLOCK believes was used by GERARD to communicate with the South Africans. GERARD offered

BULLOCK the use of the box, but BULLOCK declined.

BULLOCK recalled that after the FBI attempted to interview him and GERARD about the above issues, he and GERARD got together a few times to discuss the situation. GERARD told BULLOCK not to worry about the FBI's investigation, saying that it was all "bullshit." BULLOCK did note, though, that on a visit he made to GERARD's residence, GERARD was unwilling to discuss the matter inside the residence out of fear of being overheard by electronic surveillance. GERARD did not give BULLOCK any instructions on how to deal with the FBI, and did not tell him to lie to the FBI.

BULLOCK added that he did not know GERARD was going to move to the Philippines and vow not to return to the United States. BULLOCK did receive a Christmas card from GERARD, on December 10, 1992. The card read, "Nothing has changed. Your friend, THOMAS."

BULLOCK said he was aware the FBI believed he had in his possession an FBI report concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI). BULLOCK confirmed that he did once have such a report. BULLOCK explained that a few months previously he had been contacted by MIRA BOLAND, an ADL Fact Finder in Washington, D.C. BOLAND told BULLOCK she was preparing a newspaper article regarding the NOI. She needed some information concerning the disposition of a case or cases involving the arrest of some NOI members. She asked BULLOCK if he could find out anything for her.

In trying to assist BOLAND, BULLOCK spoke to Los Angeles ADL Fact Finder DAVID GURVITZ. GURVITZ (whom BULLOCK estimated he spoke with almost every day) mentioned having an FBI report concerning the NOI. BULLOCK asked GURVITZ to send him a copy of the document, and GURVITZ complied. When BULLOCK received the report, he noted it was five or six years old and appeared to be poorly written and containing inaccuracies. BULLOCK did not find it to be of much value to him. He destroyed his copy after reading it.

Later, after FBI Agents questioned him about the report, BULLOCK asked GURVITZ to send him another copy, so BULLOCK could try to see why the FBI was so concerned about it. This copy BULLOCK left at the San Francisco ADL office.

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BULLOCK said he had not dealt with any foreign intelligence service besides that of South Africa. He also has no knowledge that GERARD had dealt with any foreign intelligence service besides that of South Africa.

BULLOCK said it is a common misconception that the ADL is somehow affiliated with the Israeli intelligence service. Even GERARD was of this opinion until BULLOCK corrected him. BULLOCK explained that shortly after he met GERARD, a man named [REDACTED] was arrested and jailed in Brazil for trying to smuggle guns into that country. [REDACTED] was a member of the American Nazi Party, a soldier of fortune, and a former White House guard. He was also acquainted with GERARD. [REDACTED] spent a long time in jail in Brazil. GERARD, who believed [REDACTED] activities were part of an Israeli Mossad operation, asked BULLOCK if there was not something the ADL could do to get VERDUN out of jail. BULLOCK took this opportunity to explain to GERARD that there is no connection between the ADL and Israeli intelligence (BULLOCK added that a story about the above incident with [REDACTED] appeared in Image magazine.)

BULLOCK also said he is not aware that any person listed in any of the files in his computer is in any danger for any reason.

Regarding his computer, BULLOCK was shown a list (attached) of files which were in his computer when it was seized by SFPD. BULLOCK was asked to review the list and identify any items he turned over to the South Africans. BULLOCK identified the following files as those he definitely recalls giving to HUMPHRIES or LOUIE: GLOBAL - 2 DBX, SALL, SA8, SA9, SAPRESS and TRANSAT. BULLOCK added that others on the list may also have been provided to the South Africans, but he would have to review the actual documents to be sure. BULLOCK also said that not all the items he turned over to the South Africans may appear on the list, as some may have been erased from the computer, and others he prepared using a typewriter. BULLOCK also recalled that he gave the South Africans reports on a local resident named KEVIN DANAHER, and that some of the material for the DANAHER reports came from BULLOCK's searches of DANAHER's trash. BULLOCK also recalled that LOUIE once asked him to attend and report on a meeting in Berkeley, California, regarding that city's "sister city" relationship with Soweto, South Africa, but that BULLOCK did not do as requested.

On January 26, 1993, ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, also known as CAL, was interviewed in the presence of his attorneys DONALD P. MARGOLIS and ROBERT J. BREAKSTONE, at the law offices of Landels, Ripley and Diamond, 350 Steuart Street, San Francisco, California. No promises were made by interviewing Agents to BULLOCK to induce him to agree to the interview. BULLOCK was advised of the names and official identities of the interviewing Agents, and of the nature of the interview. BULLOCK then provided the following information:

It was noted that BULLOCK had, on January 22, 1993, advised interviewing Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that he and former Inspector THOMAS JEFFREY GERARD of the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) had previously been engaged in a relationship with two persons BULLOCK believes were officers of the intelligence service of the Republic of South Africa, and that BULLOCK or BULLOCK and GERARD had several meetings with these two persons between approximately 1987 and 1991. BULLOCK agreed, but indicated he was unable to recall the specifics of each meeting. He said, however, that he could describe what occurred over the course of the meetings.

BULLOCK estimated the total number of meetings between the South Africans and him or him and GERARD to be between eight and ten; certainly not more than twelve. All the meetings took place in San Francisco, California. It seemed to BULLOCK they were always held after 7:00 p.m. They generally lasted between thirty and forty minutes. The first two meetings were with a man who identified himself to BULLOCK as HUMPHRIES; the remainder were with a man who identified himself as LOUIE. GERARD was present for all the meetings except for the first and last meetings with LOUIE. All the meetings with LOUIE, except for the first and one other, occurred in LOUIE's rented room at a Travelodge motel in the Fisherman's Wharf area of San Francisco. The meetings with LOUIE occurred approximately every three to five months, except for one summer period (probably in 1990) when LOUIE said he would be going to the "motherland" for eight weeks of leave; this may have delayed somewhat the next meeting. BULLOCK said it is possible, though he is not sure, that GERARD

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by SA JOEL A. MOSS
SA KATHLEEN M. PUCKETT Date dictated 1/27/93

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used the term "Uncle LOUIE" when BULLOCK and GERARD discussed LOUIE.

Based on an agreement made during the initial meeting with HUMPHRIES, BULLOCK was usually given an amount of American currency (generally in the form of \$100 bills) during each meeting. BULLOCK estimated that such cash payments occurred during six or seven of the meetings. Each time a payment occurred, except for the last, BULLOCK was asked to sign a receipt for the money. The receipt would be in the form of a small piece of paper bearing wording to the effect, "Subject has received \$ (amount) on this date." BULLOCK would always sign the receipt using the name "cal." The use of the name "cal" was BULLOCK's choice; he was not given a code name or number to use by the South Africans. Though GERARD would usually be present when BULLOCK received the money, he would not be required to sign a receipt. After the meetings, BULLOCK and GERARD would divide the money equally between them.

BULLOCK noted the original agreement he had with HUMPHRIES called for BULLOCK to receive a monthly payment for services of \$150.00. At some later point, this was raised to \$250.00 per month. Also, at the last meeting between BULLOCK and LOUIE, BULLOCK was given an amount for services plus \$500.00 in expense money for a trip BULLOCK took to Los Angeles to gather information for South African intelligence. BULLOCK noted it was repeatedly stressed during the meetings with LOUIE that the amount of money received could or would increase as his and GERARD's production of information increased.

BULLOCK indicated that what the South Africans wanted, and what he and GERARD worked to provide, was information relating to the efforts of persons or groups in the United States who were opposed to the South African Government and to that country's system of apartheid. BULLOCK said he frequently told LOUIE what an odious system apartheid is, and that he (BULLOCK) was agreeing to provide information about opponents of that system only because it appeared to BULLOCK that the South African Government was making progress in ending that system. It appeared to BULLOCK that LOUIE knew little about the United States, the United States Congress, or the political situation in the United States or San Francisco.

BULLOCK indicated that most of the information he and

GERARD supplied to HUMPHRIES and LOUIE was from public sources such as newspapers and pamphlets put out by anti-apartheid organizations. Some of the newspapers BULLOCK used as sources of information included the Daily CAL, Bay Area Guardian and San Francisco Chronicle (including HERB CAEN columns), along with various "looney left" newspapers and publications. BULLOCK could tell that HUMPHRIES and LOUIE were familiar only with the New York Times and Washington Post newspapers, so he felt comfortable providing them with material from other papers. BULLOCK also personally attended meetings of organizations of interest to the South Africans, as did GERARD on at least one occasion. BULLOCK and GERARD also responded to requests by the South Africans for information on particular topics or people, with GERARD sometimes supplying restricted identifying and criminal history information, which he could obtain through his position as a police officer. BULLOCK would frequently question GERARD as to why the South Africans were willing to pay money for the information he and GERARD were providing. GERARD would always tell BULLOCK not to question it, saying, "CAL, they're happy campers."

BULLOCK would write reports for the South Africans based on information he and/or GERARD would obtain. Sometimes the reports would be given to HUMPHRIES or LOUIE during the meetings in San Francisco. The rest of the time BULLOCK would send the reports to a Post Office Box address in New York which had been supplied to him by HUMPHRIES and which LOUIE told BULLOCK he (LOUIE) used as well. The reports were sent via regular United States mail. It was BULLOCK's impression from talking to LOUIE that LOUIE lived somewhere near the location of the above Post Office Box and could service the box on his way to and from his work at the New York South African Consulate. BULLOCK recalled that for the period when LOUIE was on the above trip to the "motherland," LOUIE instructed him not to mail anything to the box.

LOUIE wanted BULLOCK to get a Post Office Box in San Francisco. If LOUIE wanted to send something to BULLOCK, he did not want to have to send it to BULLOCK's residence. BULLOCK said he refused this request of LOUIE. LOUIE, who had a "beeper," also wanted BULLOCK to get one, saying he (LOUIE) would pay for it. LOUIE thought it important that there be some other way for him to telephone BULLOCK besides at BULLOCK's residence, in case BULLOCK developed some "hot" information. BULLOCK said he also

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refused this request of LOUIE. BULLOCK knew from experience that the payments from LOUIE were not as plentiful as BULLOCK expected. Aside from not thinking a beeper was actually needed, BULLOCK also did not believe LOUIE would cover the entire cost of BULLOCK having one.

BULLOCK would occasionally receive telephone calls at his residence from LOUIE. BULLOCK almost always thought, from the background noises at LOUIE's end, that LOUIE was using a public telephone. LOUIE wanted BULLOCK to use public telephones as well. He wanted BULLOCK to supply him with some numbers of public telephones in San Francisco, where BULLOCK could receive calls at specified times. LOUIE said BULLOCK's insistence of using his home telephone was "not a safe conduit." LOUIE feared the "possibility of a leak." BULLOCK, who believed he would only provide "public source" information to LOUIE by telephone, told LOUIE he would just have to call BULLOCK at BULLOCK's home.

BULLOCK knew, from talking to GERARD, that GERARD maintained a Post Office Box. BULLOCK believes the box was at a private mail box company located by the Anchorage 5 Cafe, near GERARD's residence in Sausalito, California. GERARD offered to let BULLOCK use the box to communicate with the South Africans, but BULLOCK declined the offer. BULLOCK said that although he understood GERARD used the box to communicate with the South Africans, he does not know if GERARD sent anything to them independent of what he and GERARD prepared. BULLOCK did recall that once, at a meeting at a Travelodge motel between BULLOCK, GERARD and LOUIE, GERARD gave LOUIE a chart GERARD had prepared listing all the San Francisco area anti-apartheid groups and their interconnections. The chart consisted of about eight pieces of paper which were taped together at the edges. It appeared to BULLOCK to have been prepared using GERARD's computer. LOUIE was very happy to get it, commenting, "This is marvelous! This is wonderful! This is everything -- I can see the entire thing." BULLOCK did not think the chart was that impressive, and he later commented to GERARD that he was surprised LOUIE liked it. GERARD responded, "Oh, CAL, you don't know intelligence agents. That's what they love."

Most of the material BULLOCK and GERARD gave to the South Africans came from work they did in the San Francisco area. BULLOCK cited two instances, however, where he traveled outside the San Francisco area to obtain information. On one occasion,

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BULLOCK had to travel to Portland, Oregon on business for his employer, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL). BULLOCK was to gather information from a trial there which involved white supremacist TOM METZGER. While in Portland, BULLOCK gathered some information on and talked to a couple of people affiliated with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). BULLOCK later wrote a report on the AFSC and its anti-apartheid activities, which he sent to LOUIE. On another occasion, LOUIE asked BULLOCK to attend and report on a meeting of an anti-apartheid group in Hollywood, California. BULLOCK traveled to Hollywood as requested, obtained some literature at the meeting, and reported the results to LOUIE. For this, BULLOCK was reimbursed \$500.00 for travel expenses by LOUIE at their last meeting. BULLOCK also gathered information during a vacation he took in Washington, D.C., which was later incorporated into a report for the South Africans. BULLOCK noted he was not paid by the South Africans for travel expenses except for the above Hollywood trip. BULLOCK did not ask for travel expense money from the South Africans for the other trips because he was either traveling on his own initiative or because the ADL was paying for it.

BULLOCK was able to recall some assorted details regarding the various meetings he or he and GERARD had with HUMPHRIES or LOUIE. The first meeting BULLOCK had with either of the South Africans was with HUMPHRIES. This meeting had been arranged for BULLOCK by GERARD. The meeting took place in a hotel room in San Francisco. HUMPHRIES had apparently rented the room but BULLOCK cannot recall the name of the hotel or anything about the personal effects HUMPHRIES may have had in the room with him. BULLOCK recalled that he could not see whatever luggage HUMPHRIES may have had with him, and that the room was otherwise in a pristine condition. GERARD had transported BULLOCK from BULLOCK's residence to the hotel in GERARD's car, then taken BULLOCK to HUMPHRIES' room. There HUMPHRIES introduced himself to BULLOCK, and GERARD told BULLOCK that HUMPHRIES was with South African Intelligence. HUMPHRIES told BULLOCK he was interested in acquiring information on anti-apartheid activities in the United States and on efforts regarding divestiture by American organizations of South African business ties. He said he would be grateful for whatever information BULLOCK could provide, and that BULLOCK would be paid for his efforts. They discussed the types of information HUMPHRIES wanted and what BULLOCK might be able to provide. For

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this discussion, HUMPHRIES produced a small tape recorder. He asked BULLOCK and GERARD if they minded if he taped the discussion, saying he could not take notes fast enough. Neither BULLOCK or GERARD objected to the taping, so the discussion was recorded. The total time of the recording was probably about seven minutes. Both BULLOCK's and GERARD's voices are probably on the tape. BULLOCK cannot recall if the discussion of payment for information was included in the recording. HUMPHRIES mentioned the possibility of also sending BULLOCK to London or Paris to gather information. BULLOCK did not recall that HUMPHRIES said he was from the New York South African Consulate. BULLOCK later knew this, but he cannot recall if he was told by GERARD or LOUIE. The above was the only instance in which BULLOCK knew he was being recorded during discussions with the South Africans.

BULLOCK recalled that, although LOUIE generally stayed at a Travelodge motel in the Fisherman's Wharf area of San Francisco, there was one time that LOUIE stayed at the San Francisco Hyatt Regency Hotel, located near the Embarcadero Center. BULLOCK believes this may have been on the occasion of his and GERARD's third meeting with LOUIE. They met LOUIE in the lobby of this hotel, and then they went to a restaurant in the nearby Pacific Gas and Electric Company building. LOUIE had with him a brown leather briefcase with the initials "JB" embossed on it in gold. BULLOCK recalled that this was the only time he saw LOUIE with a briefcase. LOUIE explained that he was staying at the Hyatt Hotel, and they were not meeting in LOUIE's room, because LOUIE had his wife with him. LOUIE said he and his wife (and possibly their children: BULLOCK is not certain of this. BULLOCK did recall that during one of LOUIE's visits to San Francisco BULLOCK observed LOUIE had purchased some "Mickey Mouse" ears, and that LOUIE had indicated they were for one of his children.) were on vacation and were driving across the United States. He mentioned either that they had visited or were going to visit the Grand Canyon. LOUIE did not give BULLOCK any money during this meeting, but he said South Africa was very happy with BULLOCK's and GERARD's work. He gave what BULLOCK described as a "pep talk" and requested that they continue working for South Africa.

BULLOCK recalled he learned at some point that LOUIE liked to eat crab. BULLOCK would often try to encourage LOUIE to go out to eat with him and GERARD, but LOUIE always refused, not

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wanting to leave the security of the hotel room. BULLOCK eventually decided there were certain things like this that LOUIE, as an intelligence officer, simply felt he had to do in the name of security.

Although BULLOCK was sending LOUIE two or three reports per month, LOUIE always seemed to think that BULLOCK and GERARD should be producing more. He told BULLOCK that there would be more money in exchange for more production. Once, at a fairly early meeting (probably around November, 1989) when LOUIE complained about what he perceived to be a lack of production, he said he wanted BULLOCK to start numbering the submitted reports so LOUIE could see how many there were and if any were missing. BULLOCK complied with this instruction for about one month, then discontinued the numbering, and LOUIE never brought the numbering system up again.

Sometime after their fourth meeting with the South Africans, GERARD noted to BULLOCK that BULLOCK was doing most of the work in producing the reports they were submitting. GERARD suggested that perhaps they should modify their agreement on splitting payments received so that instead of being divided equally, BULLOCK would get two-thirds. BULLOCK declined the offer, telling GERARD, "I may be gay but I'm a straight arrow." Thereafter they continued to equally divide the money received from the South Africans.

BULLOCK recalled that at one meeting between him, GERARD and LOUIE, which occurred in 1990, LOUIE had with him two pages of handwritten notes. The notes were written with a pencil and were in Afrikaans. BULLOCK has some German speaking ability, and he thought that might allow him to be able to read some of the Afrikaans. He asked LOUIE if he could try to read the notes, and LOUIE agreed. BULLOCK found he could not understand very much of what was written. BULLOCK could decipher some of what was in the notes, especially a list of things LOUIE then confirmed were among things he hoped BULLOCK and GERARD could look into. These things were a Cable News Network conference in Atlanta, Georgia regarding South African Bishop DESMOND TUTU; a student meeting in Iowa regarding South Africa; a black businessmen's conference in Los Angeles, California regarding business opportunities in South Africa, and a student writer for the publication "Africa South" who had written an article concerning an anti-apartheid meeting. BULLOCK said he and GERARD

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were unable to obtain any information about any of the above topics.

At one of the earlier meetings with LOUIE, he asked BULLOCK and GERARD for information about a student anti-apartheid meeting held at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB). The group about which LOUIE inquired had an office at the Student Union at UCB. When BULLOCK went there, the office was open but no one was there. BULLOCK entered anyway. He looked around, but saw nothing worthwhile to note or take (BULLOCK described it as a "peanut" operation.) BULLOCK later reported this visit, and the generally poor condition of the office, to LOUIE. LOUIE wanted BULLOCK to draw a diagram of the office. BULLOCK talked this request over with GERARD. They agreed it might not be a good idea to provide the diagram to LOUIE, in case LOUIE had thoughts of using it to aid in a burglary of the office. BULLOCK therefore did not provide the diagram, and LOUIE never asked for it again.

At, BULLOCK believes, the next to last meeting he and GERARD had with LOUIE, LOUIE asked BULLOCK if BULLOCK knew of any personnel from any foreign consulates in the United States who might be willing to do business with South Africa. The only diplomat BULLOCK knew, besides LOUIE and HUMPHRIES, was a woman named [redacted] was the Honorary Consul for Turkey in San Francisco. [redacted] had been introduced to BULLOCK by GERARD. [redacted] asked BULLOCK to try to find out information about the activities of Armenian immigrants in the United States. [redacted] was concerned that she might be an assassination target of the Armenians, following the assassination in Los Angeles of a Turkish diplomat.

BULLOCK did not try to get [redacted] to work for the South Africans. As a result of BULLOCK's Armenian investigation, however, he became acquainted with persons named JEFF BLANKFORT and STEVE ZELTZER. BLANKFORT and ZELTZER were affiliated with the "Free MOSES MAYEKISO Campaign" (MAYEKISO being an imprisoned South African trade unionist), as well as with anti-Turkish organizations. BULLOCK befriended and won the confidence of BLANKFORT and ZELTZER (in BULLOCK's words, they thought he was "one of them"). He later used that connection to obtain information for a report he prepared for the South Africans which described the activities of BLANKFORT and ZELTZER.

BULLOCK observed that when the work of collecting information for South Africa required someone to physically go somewhere to, for example, attend a meeting, it would almost always be BULLOCK who went. BULLOCK could recall only one occasion where GERARD went. This was in connection with an anti-apartheid meeting in San Jose, California. BULLOCK had some reason why he could not go, so GERARD said he would cover the meeting. GERARD went, and wrote a report about it, which he gave to BULLOCK for submission to the South Africans. The report contained mistakes in English usage and was otherwise not as polished as what BULLOCK had been sending. BULLOCK therefore rewrote the report to correct these deficiencies, and then mailed the corrected version to the South Africans. See "DEAN.DBX" below.

BULLOCK was shown copies of a number of reports, on various topics, which had been obtained by the SFPD through their seizure of BULLOCK's personal computer at BULLOCK's residence on December 10, 1992. BULLOCK was asked to comment concerning whether they had been written by him and whether they had been provided by him to the South Africans. The reports (copies of which are attached) are listed below utilizing the names under which they had been stored in BULLOCK's computer.

REPORT NAME	WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?	OTHER COMMENTS
ANAGNOS	YES	YES	Information for this report supplied by GERARD.
ANC	YES	YES	Persons described in this report were specifically asked about by South Africans.
ANCFUND	YES	YES	

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Continuation of FD-302 of ROY EDWARD BULLOCK , On 1/26/93 , Page 10

REPORT NAME	WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?
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OTHER COMMENTS

It is BULLOCK's opinion that the San Francisco area anti-apartheid movement began to fall apart following the visit of NELSON MANDELA to San Francisco.

NCJEW	YES	YES
APARTSUR	YES	YES
BERK	YES	YES
BOSAK	YES	YES
BOYCOTT	YES	YES
CONST.DBX	YES	YES
CULTURE.DBX	YES	YES
DANAHER.DBX	YES	YES

BULLOCK met KEVIN DANAHER when BULLOCK performed volunteer work for a "Trot-skeyita" organization in San Francisco called MOBE, which each April sponsors a March for Peace, Jobs and Justice. BULLOCK worked there around February, 1990 and February, 1991.

DANAHER2.DBX	YES	YES
DEAN.DBX	YES	YES

Function personally attended by GERARD. See above.

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Continuation of FD-302 of ROY EDWARD BULLOCK , On 1/26/93 , Page 11

REPORT NAME	WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?
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OTHER COMMENTS

GLOBAL2.DBX	YES	YES
GLOBAL0.DBX	YES	NO
HANI.DBX	YES	YES
IRRC-SA.DBX	YES	YES

This report written for the ADL.

A copy of this report also filed by BULLOCK with ADL. BULLOCK gathered information for this report while he was on vacation in Washington, D.C.

JEFF.DBX	YES	NO
KRAFT.DBX	YES	YES

A copy of this report was not given to ADL by BULLOCK. Information in this report was supplied unilaterally by GERARD. GERARD did not ask BULLOCK to gather any information on SCOTT KRAFT.

MUSIK.DBX	YES	NO
NED.DBX	YES	YES
NUJOWA.DBX	YES	YES
PAUL.DBX	YES	NO

Report prepared for ADL use only.

Report prepared for ADL use only.

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REPORT NAME	WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?	OTHER COMMENTS
RAINBOW.DBX	YES	NO	Report prepared for ADL use only. GERARD may have provided vehicle registration and driver's license information.
SALL.DBX	YES	YES	GERARD provided California Department of Motor Vehicles and criminal history information used in this report. GERARD also provided the U.S. Immigration number listed for ENOCH WILLIAM DUMA. When BULLOCK asked GERARD how GERARD obtained this number, GERARD winked and said he "has his sources." Also, after this report GERARD always asked LOUIE if he had any more names to submit for "tasking." BULLOCK does not recall that there were.
SAS.DBX	YES	YES	Information about the Vanguard Foundation (VF) came from VF publications. IRWIN SUALL of the ADL was also interested in VF. VF's YVONNE GOLDEN is an old Communist Party "hack."

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REPORT NAME	WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?	OTHER COMMENTS
SA9.DBX	YES	YES	
SAPORT.DBX	YES	YES	This report was generated from BULLOCK's above-described trip to Portland, Oregon.
SAPRESS.DBX	YES	YES	Report on visit of NELSON MANDELA to the United States.
SCAR.DBX	YES	NO	Report prepared for ADL use only.
SCOUT2.DBX	YES	NO	Report prepared for ADL use only. BULLOCK did request of LOUIE any available information on [redacted] the South African wife of [redacted] head of the Populist Party in the United States. BULLOCK was told he had not provided the correct spelling of [redacted] name, and that no record of her could be located in South Africa. BULLOCK noted the South Africans were not concerned with [redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, On 1/26/93, Page 15

REPORT NAME	WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?	OTHER COMMENTS
SFARAB.DBX	YES	YES	This report, given to LOUIE, contains information about Congresswoman NANCY PELOSI. LOUIE did not, however, ask questions about the United States Congress.
SFPRESS.DBX	YES	YES	
SHELL.DBX	YES	YES	
SOV2.DBX	YES	NO	BULLOCK is interested in Radio Moscow propaganda techniques and has listed to Radio Moscow for years. BULLOCK asserted there was "no subversive intent" to his listening to and writing reports about Radio Moscow broadcasts.
TRANSAF.DBX	YES	YES	Information on telephone numbers and calls contained in this report were obtained by BULLOCK through his taking of Transafrika's trash.
WASHSA.DBX	YES	YES	BULLOCK obtained information for this report while BULLOCK was on vacation in Washington, D.C.

BULLOCK further identified a report titled AFRICEN as one he started to write on the Africa Resource Center, but which he never finished.

BULLOCK said there were also some reports prepared by him with a typewriter for the South Africans. He said he does not have copies of those reports.

BULLOCK also gave to LOUIE an ADL publication on the African National Congress.

BULLOCK was shown a copy of a twenty-four page document called "ANC FILES LIST," which had been retrieved by the SFPD from a computer seized by them from GERARD. BULLOCK said this was not a document he had written, though he recognized some of the names in it. BULLOCK also said, though, that he had provided GERARD with copies of almost everything in his (BULLOCK's) computer. BULLOCK specifically identified three major listings of individuals he had in his computer, under the headings RIGHT, PINKO and ARAB. BULLOCK gave GERARD copies of all three lists, based on a request from GERARD. BULLOCK loaded the information onto computer disks and gave the disks to GERARD. BULLOCK added that GERARD is "not that good with computers."

BULLOCK said most of the information contained in his (BULLOCK's) computer was stored using software programs called Multimate and Paradox. BULLOCK said copies of everything stored using Multimate had been also given to the San Francisco ADL office. The same is true for most of the information stored using Paradox.

BULLOCK said he has shown his collection of computerized information to FBI Special Agent FRANK DOYLE. Special Agent DOYLE was very impressed and told BULLOCK that if BULLOCK retires he should "will" the information to Special Agent DOYLE. Special Agent DOYLE also once offered to have the FBI supply BULLOCK with a facsimile machine, so BULLOCK could send copies of his reports. BULLOCK added, though, that he never actually received a facsimile machine from Special Agent DOYLE.

BULLOCK said it was his impression, though GERARD never explicitly told him so, (and BULLOCK never asked) that GERARD may have been telling the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) about his

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Continuation of FD-302 of ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, On 1/26/93, Page 16

and BULLOCK's contacts with the South Africans. GERARD had said he knew the CIA "resident agent" in San Francisco. GERARD told BULLOCK he would introduce BULLOCK to this person, but that introduction never occurred. Once, after GERARD dropped BULLOCK off at BULLOCK's residence following a meeting with LOUIE, GERARD said he was going to go to the San Francisco CIA office. BULLOCK thinks this is one of the reasons GERARD always asked LOUIE if LOUIE had any more names of people he wanted them to check out.

BULLOCK recalled that once, after he had met GERARD, BULLOCK went to Chicago, Illinois to conduct an investigation on behalf of the ADL. The target of the investigation was a group called the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. BULLOCK learned that a woman named [REDACTED] was transporting money between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) or the Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine (PFLP), and the United States. BULLOCK told this to GERARD. GERARD later told BULLOCK that GERARD's "guy at the CIA" would like to know more. GERARD asked BULLOCK if BULLOCK would go back to Chicago to gather more information on the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. BULLOCK, however, never did go back.

BULLOCK said he, himself, had no relationship with the CIA. Only once, in the late 1960s or early 1970s, was BULLOCK in an office which he understood to belong to the CIA. That was at the invitation of a person named CHARLES ROUBITELLE, whom BULLOCK understood to be a CIA employee. BULLOCK had met ROUBITELLE in the 1960s while BULLOCK was living in Southern California. ROUBITELLE seemed interested in the activities of right wing extremists. ROUBITELLE invited BULLOCK to visit him at a CIA office in Los Angeles, which BULLOCK recalled was in the "Fisher Building." When BULLOCK arrived at the office for his appointment, he found the office door unlocked but no one present. BULLOCK went in. Being alone and seeing a file cabinet nearby, BULLOCK opened one of the drawers. In the drawer he observed a file on a well known left wing leader. Eventually someone appeared in the office, and BULLOCK was introduced to a man he understood was the head of the office. He and BULLOCK chatted for a few minutes, about topics BULLOCK can no longer recall. The man told BULLOCK they had tried to call him several times. BULLOCK replied that that would have been impossible as BULLOCK did not have a telephone. After BULLOCK and the man finished chatting, BULLOCK left the office. BULLOCK has had no further contact with the CIA except as might have occurred

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Continuation of FD-302 of ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, On 1/26/93, Page 17

through GERARD.

The South Africans were quite aware that GERARD had once been employed by the CIA. During meetings between GERARD and BULLOCK and HUMPHRIES or LOUIE, GERARD would frequently discuss what he had done while in the CIA's employ. BULLOCK recalled GERARD mentioning that he had been in Algeria on CIA business, and that GERARD discussed the PLO and "safehouses." To this LOUIE once responded that Israeli intelligence had determined that the PLO and the African National Congress were cooperating. GERARD also spoke of having traveled with the CIA to Afghanistan, and he described what he had seen there. LOUIE also contributed stories concerning his adventures inside South Africa as an intelligence officer (BULLOCK did not recall LOUIE talking about any of his intelligence activities outside South Africa.) Both GERARD and LOUIE traded "war stories" and regaled each other and BULLOCK with tales of "narrow scrapes."

Even though the South Africans knew of GERARD's former CIA affiliation, BULLOCK never heard HUMPHRIES or LOUIE ask GERARD to provide any information about the CIA. BULLOCK never told the South Africans he was acquainted with any FBI employees, nor does he recall GERARD saying he (GERARD) knew any. The South Africans never asked BULLOCK or GERARD (to BULLOCK's knowledge) to provide any information about the FBI. BULLOCK said that although he had previously acknowledged once having a report on the Nation of Islam, which he believes was written by the FBI, he never gave it or any other FBI documents to the South Africans. LOUIE was very security conscious, but he never spoke openly about concerns that the FBI might discover what he was doing with BULLOCK and GERARD. LOUIE did once mention that he had seen a media story about how the FBI was looking for speakers of various languages, including Afrikaans. LOUIE said he assumed this meant the FBI would be spending less time investigating traditional targets like the Soviet Union, and more regarding targets like South Africa.

BULLOCK said that despite GERARD's claimed contacts with the CIA, GERARD was nevertheless concerned about the possibility of the FBI finding out what he and BULLOCK were doing with the South Africans. BULLOCK knew GERARD could be fired from his job with SFPD if it was discovered that he and BULLOCK were selling information to the South Africans. GERARD's concern about discovery extended to the point that he once took steps to

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try to determine if the FBI knew about his and BULLOCK's activities; and to gauge the general FBI level of interest in South Africa. For his part, BULLOCK's concern about protecting GERARD in their dealings with South Africa caused BULLOCK to intentionally provide false information to the FBI.

BULLOCK explained that in approximately 1990, he was approached by FBI Special Agent (SA) KATHERINE I. TANG-WILCOX, and another Agent, who could speak Spanish, but whose name BULLOCK cannot now recall. They discussed such things as "skinheads" and a Puerto Rican independence group. Then TANG-WILCOX asked BULLOCK if BULLOCK knew anything about "South African agents in the Silicon Valley." BULLOCK admitted he knew one South African, from New York, and that he had given this person some information on anti-apartheid groups. BULLOCK indicated willingness to try to identify this person from a photograph if TANG-WILCOX obtained one. TANG-WILCOX asked BULLOCK to contact her if this South African contacted BULLOCK again. BULLOCK said he would. TANG-WILCOX gave BULLOCK the telephone number to her beeper so BULLOCK could contact her.

BULLOCK claimed that when LOUIE next called him, a month or two later, to arrange a meeting for later the same day, BULLOCK tried to contact TANG-WILCOX, using the beeper number she had provided. When she had not called him back after fifteen minutes, BULLOCK left for the meeting with LOUIE. Because he waited for TANG-WILCOX to call him, BULLOCK said, he was late for the meeting, and LOUIE berated him for his tardiness (BULLOCK countered that he had taken a circuitous route to the meeting.) BULLOCK indicated this was about a month before the last meeting with LOUIE. BULLOCK noted that TANG-WILCOX never produced a photograph for him to try to identify, nor did the matter of South Africa come up again with her.

BULLOCK, however, reported TANG-WILCOX's interest in South Africa to GERARD. GERARD was concerned. GERARD later reported to BULLOCK that he (GERARD) had gone to the San Francisco FBI Office and made contact with a person who handled the "South Africa desk." From this contact GERARD reported to BULLOCK that GERARD did not think the FBI was aware of his and BULLOCK's relationship with the South Africans, or that the FBI was very interested in South Africa.

The last meeting BULLOCK had with LOUIE occurred after

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the above contact with SA TANG-WILCOX. As usual, LOUIE telephoned BULLOCK to request a meeting, after LOUIE was already in San Francisco. This time, however, LOUIE told BULLOCK, in an "acid" tone, not to bring GERARD to the meeting. BULLOCK therefore met LOUIE alone at LOUIE's room at the Travelodge motel at Fisherman's Wharf. LOUIE spoke in a terse manner and did not have the friendly demeanor he had always previously displayed. He spoke to BULLOCK for only a couple of minutes in the motel room. He and BULLOCK then walked to the nearby Ripley's Believe It Or Not museum. On the way there and at the museum LOUIE told BULLOCK that the information he and GERARD had been providing was not worthwhile. He thanked BULLOCK for their efforts and asked if he could call BULLOCK if anything more was needed. BULLOCK said he could. In the museum, at the second exhibit (which BULLOCK recalled was lit with red lights), LOUIE gave BULLOCK an envelope containing \$1,500.00 in cash. LOUIE did not ask BULLOCK to sign a receipt. \$500.00 of the \$1,500.00 was to reimburse BULLOCK for his travel expenses in connection with his above-mentioned trip to Hollywood. BULLOCK offered to give LOUIE a detailed list of expenses for the trip, but LOUIE did not want that. It was clear to BULLOCK that this was to be the last meeting with LOUIE. They shook hands, and parted company after just a few minutes. That was the last BULLOCK has seen of LOUIE.

BULLOCK contacted GERARD and informed him of this meeting with LOUIE. GERARD's response was, "That's the way it goes." BULLOCK gave GERARD \$500.00 of the money LOUIE had given him, keeping all of the \$500.00 that was intended as his travel expense reimbursement, plus half of the remaining \$1,000.00.

BULLOCK expressed surprise, both to GERARD and to interviewing Agents, concerning the termination of the relationship with the South Africans, and the abrupt way it was handled by LOUIE. BULLOCK denied telling LOUIE about the above questioning by SA TANG-WILCOX, or otherwise saying anything which might have made the South Africans think the FBI was investigating the relationship they had with BULLOCK and GERARD.

BULLOCK was shown a copy of the text of what appeared to be a letter describing the above encounter with SA TANG-WILCOX. The letter had been discovered in BULLOCK's computer by the SFPD, under the file name TRIP.DBX. It appeared to have been prepared for transmission to the South Africans. The text of the letter, a copy of which is attached, read:

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"During an extended conversation with two FBI agents in late March on a number of topics, one asked pointblank, "Why do you think South Africa (sic) agents are coming to the West Coast?" At first I brushed aside the question but after a few minutes, the agent again brought it up. Because of the old contact our mutual friend had with the consulate in southern California and because I am a known friend of his, the bureau apparently decided I might know something about South African intelligence operations.

"Nothing specific was indicated and we can be sure that you are not the target of their interest nor do they know of your trips here. As one explained, "We missed the boat in developing information on Iraqi agents operating on the west coast prior to the gulf crisis and we don't want to do that again." I suggested that there was not the slightest indication that South Africa and the United States would ever be in a state of hostilities as had occurred (sic) with Iraq. In short, their explanation (sic) did not hold water. One then replied that they were interested to see if SA agents might be "after military secrets" in California. They admitted that there was nothing to indicate such interest. But they had to make sure. In particular, they thought SA might be interested in ferreting out secret information from the Silicon valley (re: computers, etc.)

"Did I know any agents, they finally asked? Since the issue had been brought up, I replied that a meeting had been arranged, in confidence, by the ADL which wanted information on radical right activities in SA and their American connections. To that end I had met an agent at Rockefeller Center cafeteria. Could I identify the agent if they showed me photos? I replied that I would try. The photos would have to be sent from New York and would take time. To date, they have not contacted me to view the photos.

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"In summation, there is no indication that the bureau knows about our connection nor about your trips to this area. They asked a number of questions which revealed their lack of knowledge about any concrete or specific details. This was, in short, a fishing expedition and they seemed satisfied with my answers."

BULLOCK commented that the TRIP.DBX letter was a very "damning" piece of evidence. He said he had forgotten it was in his computer. He admitted that it concerned the above-described meeting he had with SA TANG-WILCOX and the "Spanish speaking" SA, and that he had, in fact, written it, right after the meeting with SA TANG-WILCOX. BULLOCK then stated, however, that he had never actually transmitted it to the South Africans. BULLOCK discussed the letter with GERARD, and thought about sending it to LOUIE, but never did. BULLOCK did give a copy of the letter to GERARD, though he does not know what GERARD did with it. GERARD never told BULLOCK that he (GERARD) had given the letter to the South Africans, nor did BULLOCK think GERARD had done so, but BULLOCK cannot be sure. BULLOCK remained at a loss to explain the above-described behavior of LOUIE at their last meeting assuming that BULLOCK had not actually transmitted the TRIP.DBX letter to the South Africans.

BULLOCK admitted he had lied to SA TANG-WILCOX about his relationship with the South Africans. BULLOCK said his motive in doing so was to try to protect GERARD's activities from discovery by the FBI. BULLOCK said his statements to the FBI that the ADL had set up his relationship with the South Africans, were untrue.

BULLOCK was questioned concerning what he had done with the money paid to him by the South Africans. He said he normally put his share (that part not given to GERARD) in his bank account within a short time of receiving it. BULLOCK estimated he gave about one-third of his share of the money from LOUIE to the Project Open House AIDS charity fund. The remainder of the money BULLOCK believes he spent on purchases of art. BULLOCK noted that in his art business it is normal for him to keep a supply of cash at home. He does this because art sellers often prefer to

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Continuation of FD-302 of ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, On 1/26/93, Page 22

be paid in cash. Some of the cash he has used for art purchases may have come from money supplied by LOUIE.

BULLOCK said an analysis of his checking account would reveal deposits of cash from art sales, the South Africans, his ADL salary, money paid to him by the ADL for expenses, money paid to him by others for occasional art appraisal services, and money borrowed by him from his business partner PAUL DANIEL.

BULLOCK said he does not know what GERARD did with his share of the money from the South Africans. BULLOCK knows GERARD has sent some money to the Philippines to pay for a house GERARD is building there, but he added he does not know how GERARD sends money to the Philippines, or if the money he has sent there was from the South Africans. BULLOCK does not know what the term "foxy pocket" refers to with regard to GERARD.

BULLOCK said he remains opposed to the apartheid system in South Africa. He said he provided information on anti-apartheid activities to South African intelligence because he wanted to help South Africa make a better assessment of the anti-apartheid situation in the United States. BULLOCK said he hoped that by doing this he would encourage the Government of South Africa to bring apartheid to an end.

In addition to the above, BULLOCK provided some other background information concerning himself and GERARD. BULLOCK said that when he got out of high school in 1953 he had gone to work for the Identification Bureau of the police department in Indianapolis, Indiana. His supervisor was BUFORD A. MARSEY. BULLOCK's main function was to pull and put away police files, but he also learned how to take and identify fingerprints.

BULLOCK worked at the above job for about six months. He then joined the United States Army, however, was shortly thereafter released on a medical discharge.

BULLOCK is acquainted with GERARD's wife, JULIE. JULIE is GERARD's second wife. GERARD has a son, who is currently serving in the United States Marine Corps.

What follows is an FBI report on an interview conducted by the FBI with former Los Angeles Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith "fact finder" David Gurvitz. The interview was conducted in the course of the ongoing investigation of the ADL's spy network. Gurvitz, who has been offered immunity from prosecution for criminal activities he may have committed in the course of his employment with the ADL, is probably the first in-house ADL whistleblower ever to reveal ADL secrets to the public. Note that Gurvitz makes reference to his habit of regularly reading The SPOTLIGHT as part of his ADL duties. The pages shown here (reduced in size for space considerations) are exact photoreproductions of the documents released by the San Francisco District Attorney's office which is in charge of the inquiry into the ADL's activities.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 3/8/93EXHIBIT H

FBI INTERVIEW OF DAVID GURVITZ

March 8, 1993

On March 3, 1993 DAVID M. GURVITZ was interviewed at the Los Angeles, California Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 11000 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Present during the interview was ALEXANDER RIBAKOFF, an attorney who is representing GURVITZ. GURVITZ was advised of the names and official identities of the interviewing Agents, and of the nature of the interview. GURVITZ was advised that this interview was entirely voluntary on his part. He was also advised, in writing, that he is not a target of investigation by the FBI (copy of letter attached). GURVITZ thereafter provided the following information.

GURVITZ noted he had been previously interviewed by the FBI on October 30, 1992, and that he had then indicated he knew that one ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, also known as CAL, had been engaged in a clandestine relationship with a person representing the Republic of South Africa. GURVITZ had told the FBI that BULLOCK had been supplying to that person information concerning persons and groups in the United States who were engaged in activities in opposition to South Africa's system of "apartheid." At that time, GURVITZ had indicated to the FBI that he had no knowledge of BULLOCK receiving any money for this information. GURVITZ said he had made an inaccurate statement concerning that issue, which he now wished to correct.

GURVITZ then stated that in approximately September, 1992, BULLOCK, who lives in San Francisco, had traveled to Los Angeles, California. The trip had been made shortly after Labor Day. BULLOCK, who is employed as an investigator with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), came to Los Angeles to debrief a an ADL undercover source, codenamed SCOUT. SCOUT had just attended a "skinhead" gathering (characterized by GURVITZ as an "Aryan Woodstock") in the California desert near Victorville. BULLOCK wanted to know what information SCOUT had obtained there. (This was one of a number of trips GURVITZ knew BULLOCK made periodically to Los Angeles. BULLOCK made such trips to meet with SCOUT, and/or BULLOCK's police contacts. He would also sometimes see GURVITZ. BULLOCK usually flew into Long Beach Airport, then rented a car and stayed with friends in Seal Beach

Investigation on 3/3/93 at Los Angeles, California File # 264B-SF-100978by SA JOEL A. MOSS
SA SCOTT W. HARPER

Date dictated _____

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or Pasadena.)

In connection with the above September, 1992 trip, BULLOCK stopped by the Los Angeles ADL office. There, in the morning (GURVITZ believes it may have been a Friday), BULLOCK met with GURVITZ, who was himself then employed as an ADL investigator. GURVITZ and BULLOCK agreed to go out to lunch. They then went, in a car BULLOCK had rented, to a kosher pizza restaurant called Pizza World, located on Fairfax Avenue in Los Angeles. No one else accompanied them.

During lunch, GURVITZ asked BULLOCK about BULLOCK's relationship with South Africa. GURVITZ had known BULLOCK since GURVITZ started working for the ADL in March, 1989. They had had many telephone conversations, and in about three of them BULLOCK had alluded to his dealings with South Africa (GURVITZ could not recall exactly when he first heard this.) BULLOCK was also, however, very secretive, and he had never been willing to elaborate for GURVITZ on the telephone. This behavior had served only to pique GURVITZ's interest, so he used the occasion of lunch with BULLOCK to ask BULLOCK a question about it. GURVITZ recalled his question to BULLOCK was something like, "What's the whole deal with South Africa?"

BULLOCK then described for GURVITZ a relationship BULLOCK, and a San Francisco police officer named TOM GERARD, had had with the South African Government. BULLOCK told GURVITZ that at some time in the past, BULLOCK had learned that a South African Consul General (GURVITZ is not sure from which South African consulate) was going to give a speech in Las Vegas, Nevada, at an event sponsored by an organization called the Liberty Lobby. BULLOCK considered the Liberty Lobby, headed by one WILLIS CARTO, to be a right-wing extremist organization. BULLOCK suspected the Consul General did not know this, and that if he did, he would not want to appear at the event. BULLOCK told GERARD of the situation. GERARD wrote a letter to the South African Consulate in Los Angeles advising them of the true nature of the Liberty Lobby. The Consul General did not make the speech, and shortly thereafter GERARD received a letter of reply from the South Africans, apparently thanking him for the warning. This letter of reply was received by GERARD at a Post Office Box GERARD maintained, which GURVITZ understood to be possibly in the "East Bay" area of the San Francisco Bay Area. This, GURVITZ understood from BULLOCK, marked the beginning of a clandestine

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relationship with the South African Government.

BULLOCK then told GURVITZ that he (BULLOCK) was being paid by the South Africans for information relating to anti-apartheid organizations in the San Francisco area. BULLOCK said the information was of a type which BULLOCK was already gathering on behalf of the ADL, so BULLOCK did not have to go much out of his way to get information of value to the South Africans. BULLOCK said his South African contact was a man named LOUIS. LOUIS paid BULLOCK for the information, in, as BULLOCK described it, "crisp, new \$100 bills." BULLOCK told GURVITZ he was receiving monthly payments. GURVITZ recalled BULLOCK mentioning a figure of \$7,000, but GURVITZ could not recall if that was a monthly figure or represented a single payment BULLOCK had once received from LOUIS.

It was GURVITZ's understanding that LOUIS was from South Africa, but GURVITZ was not told by BULLOCK whether LOUIS was a diplomat or whether he represented a particular South African diplomatic establishment. GURVITZ was not sure from talking to BULLOCK whether GERARD was also receiving money from LOUIS.

BULLOCK told GURVITZ the information being furnished to LOUIS did not seem very important to BULLOCK. BULLOCK also told GURVITZ, though, that BULLOCK had at one point learned the FBI suspected that LOUIS was engaged in gathering computer-related intelligence in the "Silicon Valley." BULLOCK said he had mentioned the FBI's interest to LOUIS, and it had scared LOUIS off and eventually caused the end of BULLOCK's relationship with South Africa. BULLOCK told GURVITZ he had had no contact with LOUIS in a long time.

GURVITZ confirmed that the ADL did routinely collect information on persons engaged in anti-apartheid activities in the United States, so BULLOCK's statement to him about not having to do much extra work for the South Africans seemed reasonable at the time. GURVITZ said he used to regularly read the People's Weekly World newspaper, published by the Communist Party of the United States. GURVITZ recalled it would occasionally contain material concerning anti-apartheid activities in the San Francisco area, and that he would send copies of those articles to BULLOCK. GURVITZ also recalls BULLOCK once saying he (BULLOCK) was going to have to do more investigation concerning anti-apartheid organizations, following media reports of a

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government "crackdown" in South Africa.

BULLOCK's statements to GURVITZ made sense also because GURVITZ had himself collected information for the ADL about anti-apartheid activities. In about August, 1992, for example, an anti-apartheid demonstration was held at the South African Consulate in Los Angeles. Participating in the demonstration were the Los Angeles Student Coalition and the Socialist Workers Party. GURVITZ went to two demonstration planning sessions, and a subsequent demonstration. He wrote a report for the ADL on each of the planning sessions and on the demonstration. Copies of the reports were disseminated to BULLOCK, among others, in care of the San Francisco ADL office.

In explaining the ADL's interest in anti-apartheid activities, GURVITZ said the ADL is sensitive to the public's perceptions regarding the degree of contact and cooperation between Israel and South Africa. GURVITZ recalled that when he started working for the ADL, there was already a great deal of information in ADL files concerning the Israel - South Africa connection and anti-apartheid groups. GURVITZ said there are files in the Los Angeles ADL office dating to approximately the 1930s. Most of this material is on microfilm; only the most recent three years' worth is kept on paper. There are also two card indexes which relate to both the microfilm and paper files. GURVITZ estimated the oldest material on South Africa and anti-apartheid activities dates back to the late 1970s or early 1980s.

GURVITZ made no effort to correlate BULLOCK's statement that the information he was furnishing was not very important, to BULLOCK's statement about being paid at least \$7,000 by LOUIS. GURVITZ said the issue of the relationship with South Africa was obviously a sensitive one with BULLOCK, so GURVITZ did not probe for additional information, but just allowed BULLOCK to tell his story. GURVITZ could tell the issue was sensitive for BULLOCK; in their many previous conversations BULLOCK had otherwise seemed very open to GURVITZ. "

GURVITZ does not know exactly when GERARD notified the South Africans about the above Liberty Lobby event. GURVITZ also does not know exactly how BULLOCK learned a South African official would be speaking there. GURVITZ knows that BULLOCK, like, GURVITZ, was a regular reader of the Liberty Lobby newsletter, called the "Spotlight." GURVITZ suspects BULLOCK

learned of the Liberty Lobby event from reading the Spotlight. GURVITZ had been reading the Spotlight regularly since he started working for the ADL in March, 1989, and he had never seen an announcement concerning a speech in Las Vegas by a South African official. GURVITZ therefore suspects the event occurred before GURVITZ began working for the ADL.

GURVITZ does not know how much money, in total, BULLOCK was paid by LOUIS. BULLOCK did not specify whether the money LOUIS was paying was LOUIS' own or was from South Africa, though it was GURVITZ' understanding it was the latter. GURVITZ has no information concerning dates, places and methods wherein BULLOCK and/or GERARD may have met with LOUIS. GURVITZ does not know what BULLOCK did with the money he received from LOUIS. BULLOCK did not mention sharing the money with GERARD.

Shortly after the above lunch between GURVITZ and BULLOCK, BULLOCK left on a trip to Germany. BULLOCK went there on ADL business, with the ADL paying for the trip. While BULLOCK was out of the United States, the ADL asked GURVITZ to resign because of threats GURVITZ had allegedly made concerning one RICK EATON, an employee of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. BULLOCK returned to the United States in October, 1992, after GURVITZ had resigned from the ADL. When BULLOCK found out GURVITZ had been asked to resign, he telephoned GURVITZ to offer his sympathy. The conversation eventually turned back to BULLOCK's dealings with LOUIS. BULLOCK said the information he had given LOUIS was sent "to Pretoria." BULLOCK said LOUIS had thought BULLOCK's information was good, though "Pretoria" was not that impressed with it.

BULLOCK then warned that the FBI might want to talk to GURVITZ about BULLOCK's dealings with South Africa. BULLOCK asked GURVITZ, should this occur, not to tell the FBI about the money BULLOCK received from LOUIS. BULLOCK's words, in asking GURVITZ not to tell the FBI about the money, were, "It means a prison term." GURVITZ understood that BULLOCK was referring to himself by this statement, not to GERARD. BULLOCK did not tell GURVITZ whether BULLOCK had at that point been interviewed by the FBI concerning South Africa.

GURVITZ noted that when he was subsequently contacted by the FBI, on October 30, 1992, he was caught off guard, had then not sought the benefit of counsel, and still felt some

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loyalty to BULLOCK and the ADL. Nevertheless he admitted the main reason he had chosen to lie to the FBI about BULLOCK's receipt of money from LOUIS, was because BULLOCK had asked him to. GURVITZ said he has since thought better of his actions, and wants to tell what really happened.

GURVITZ was not aware of anyone else in the ADL who, at least at the time, was aware that BULLOCK and GERARD were dealing with the South African Government. GURVITZ did recall one thing he had been told by his former ADL superior TZVIA SCHWARTZ, which GURVITZ now thinks may be pertinent to that issue. SCHWARTZ told GURVITZ that BULLOCK had originally been scheduled to be in Germany only two weeks. Once he got there, though, he was told by IRWIN SUALL, Director of Fact Finding at ADL Headquarters in New York, to stay in Germany until his money ran out. This turned out to be about three and one-half weeks. GURVITZ speculated on whether this was done to keep BULLOCK out of the reach of the FBI for a longer period, assuming the ADL had by then become aware of the FBI's interest in BULLOCK.

GURVITZ had one other contact with BULLOCK after the above October, 1992 telephone conversation. That was two and one-half to three weeks ago, when BULLOCK telephoned GURVITZ. BULLOCK called GURVITZ at GURVITZ's parents' home in Los Angeles. BULLOCK first left a message saying he would call, then called back later the same night. GURVITZ and BULLOCK spoke for about thirty minutes. GURVITZ spent some time "kvetching" about his situation and current state of unemployment, and about the "raw deal" he thought he had been given by the ADL. They discussed RICK EATON and that the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) thought GURVITZ and BULLOCK's "threatening" conversation concerning EATON had occurred in April, 1992. BULLOCK told GURVITZ he understood at the time that their discussion of "exposing" EATON's ties to the Simon Wiesenthal Center was a joke. BULLOCK said he does not know why such a big "fuss" is being made over it. BULLOCK said his name had appeared in newspaper stories about this matter. He said he is not currently doing much for the ADL, and was having no contact with RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT (head of the San Francisco ADL office). BULLOCK said the ADL had supplied him with two attorneys, and that the affidavit for the search warrant the SFPD had used to search BULLOCK's residence is still sealed. He told GURVITZ that GERARD is in the Philippines (GURVITZ noted that previously BULLOCK had said GERARD has "friends" in the Philippine

Government equivalent of the FBI.) BULLOCK said also that Detective AL TAYLOR of the Los Angeles Police Department had recently called TZVIA SCHWARTZ, wanting her to ask BULLOCK some questions about the ADL source SCOUT. BULLOCK concluded by promising to send GURVITZ copies of some of the above newspaper articles (though GURVITZ has not yet received any).

GURVITZ stated that, besides whatever connections GERARD may have with the Philippine Government, he knows of no other foreign government(s) with which BULLOCK and GERARD were involved besides that of South Africa. GURVITZ does not know of any others who were working with BULLOCK and GERARD on behalf of South Africa. It was GURVITZ's impression from talking to BULLOCK that LOUIS was their only South African contact. GURVITZ knows, from BULLOCK's references to "Pretoria," that the South African Government was the consumer of the information being provided through LOUIS, however, GURVITZ does not recall BULLOCK using the terms "intelligence" or "intelligence officer" when speaking of LOUIS. The only tasking which GURVITZ is aware BULLOCK got from LOUIS concerned anti-apartheid matters. GURVITZ is not aware of any other issues in which the South Africans were interested.

GURVITZ was shown copies of a number of documents which had been obtained from a computer seized by the SFPD from BULLOCK's residence on December 10, 1992. The documents, copies of which are attached, were marked with the file names under which they were found in the computer. GURVITZ was asked to comment concerning his familiarity with the documents or subject matter, and whether he recognized any of them relating to things BULLOCK may have spoken of in connection with his work for South Africa. The results are as follows:

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Continuation of FD-302 of DAVID M. GURVITZ, On 3/3/93, Page 8Continuation of FD-302 of DAVID M. GURVITZ, On 3/3/93, Page 9DOCUMENT
NAMEGURVITZ' COMMENTS

BOSAK

GURVITZ is familiar with ALLAN BOESAK and SHEHADEH SHEHADEH. This looks like a BULLOCK-type report, and GURVITZ recalls seeing a copy of this particular report at the Los Angeles ADL office. The report would probably have been originally disseminated to the Los Angeles ADL office in care of BETSY ROSENTHAL or TZVIA SCHWARTZ, by RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT of the San Francisco ADL office. GURVITZ does not recall that BULLOCK personally attended the meeting described in the report, and he does not know if it was supplied to South Africa by BULLOCK.

CULTURE.DBX

GURVITZ had not seen this report before. He noted it was not done in a typeface he normally associated with BULLOCK reports. Of the people/entities mentioned in the report, GURVITZ is aware that the Los Angeles ADL office maintains files on the African National Congress, Congressman RON DELLUMS and Los Angeles City Councilman FARRELL. GURVITZ recalled that the file on FARRELL dated back many years, and that the file on DELLUMS was long but consisted mainly of newspaper articles. GURVITZ does not know if this report was supplied by BULLOCK to South Africa.

DOCUMENT
NAMEGURVITZ' COMMENTS

HANI.DBX

The Los Angeles ADL office has a file on CHRIS HANI. The file was started by GURVITZ. There is also a Los Angeles ADL file on University of California at Santa Barbara professor GERALD HORNE. GURVITZ has seen this particular report before. GURVITZ recalled that BULLOCK personally attended the function described in the report. GURVITZ does not know if BULLOCK supplied this report to South Africa.

KRAFT.DBX

GURVITZ had never seen this document. The names of SCOTT WALLACE KRAFT and NADINE MARIE VANDERVELDE are unknown to GURVITZ.

PAUL.DBX

The Los Angeles ADL office has a long file on former United States Congressman RON PAUL. PAUL has ties to the Liberty Lobby organization. GURVITZ did not recall seeing this particular document before.

RAINBOW.DBX

GURVITZ had seen this document before. He is familiar with most of the names mentioned in the report as they are regular investigative targets of the ADL. GURVITZ noted that one of the person's names spelled in the report as HARRY VACCARO should actually be spelled HARRY VACCARO. The document contains California driver's license and vehicle registration information. Although GURVITZ could get such information from BULLOCK, GURVITZ did not ask him for any of such information mentioned in this document.

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DOCUMENT
NAMEGURVITZ' COMMENTS

LIST.DBX

GURVITZ had seen this document before. GURVITZ recognized it as emanating from a speech by JOHN TYNDELL which was attended by SCOUT. SCOUT would have been listening to the speech, not collecting license plate numbers outside, so GURVITZ is pretty sure the license plates mentioned in the document had to have been supplied by a law enforcement official. GURVITZ said the official would probably be someone from the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office, in particular, probably Deputy TOM GREEP. GURVITZ knows that GREEP handles white supremacist organization investigations. GREEP has copied down license plates at functions which were being attended by BULLOCK, and GREEP has shared such information with the ADL.

JEFF.DBX

In the Spring of 1992 there was broadcast on a radio station in the San Francisco area a program called "African Mental Liberation Weekend." BULLOCK listed to this program and did a report for the ADL on what he heard. The text of a speech by LEONARD JEFFRIES which is contained in this document looks to GURVITZ like a part of BULLOCK's report on the above radio program.

TRIP.DBX

GURVITZ had never before seen this document. GURVITZ has no knowledge of any involvement by the ADL in BULLOCK's relationship with South Africa. GURVITZ also has no knowledge of any connection between the ADL and the South African Government, aside from BULLOCK.

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GURVITZ was then shown three pages (attached) from a document labeled PDXDATA/ARAB.DB, which had been taken from a computer seized on December 10, 1992 by the SFPD from GERARD's residence. GURVITZ said he had not seen these specific pages before. He did, however, indicate familiarity with three of the names listed therein as having their own ADL files, and with the other names as possibly having their own ADL files. The three names GURVITZ was familiar with were KHADER MUSA HAMIDE, MICHEL IBRAHIM SHEHADAH, and the last name BARAKAT.

GURVITZ identified HAMIDE as a local leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and a member of the "Palestine Eight" who are currently fighting deportation efforts by the United States Government. GURVITZ recalled writing a memo on HAMIDE, who has his own file in the Los Angeles ADL office. GURVITZ identified SHEHADAH as another local PFLP leader who has his own file in the Los Angeles ADL office, and who is also a member of the "Palestine Eight." GURVITZ recalled he once wrote a memo concerning SHEHADAH. GURVITZ identified BARAKAT as the last name of another member of the "Palestine Eight," though GURVITZ was not sure if this listed person was one of the "Eight" or another BARAKAT. GURVITZ said he could not recall if other people listed in the three pages had their own ADL files.

With regard to memos he wrote while in the employ of the ADL, GURVITZ indicated they generally followed a specific pattern of distribution. Copies would be sent to ADL Headquarters in New York, to the attention of one or more of the following people: IRWIN SUALL, TOM HALPERN, ALAN SCHWARTZ, GAIL GANS and MORT KASS. Copies would also usually be sent to the San Francisco ADL office, where BULLOCK would receive them, and a copy would be given to TZVIA SCHWARTZ, or, before her, BETSY ROSENTHAL, at the Los Angeles ADL office. Less frequently, a copy of a GURVITZ memo would also be sent to DAVID LEHRER, head of the Los Angeles ADL office.

GURVITZ was shown a copy of a thirty-seven page document (attached) regarding the Nation of Islam (NOI), which begins with the table of contents page. GURVITZ identified it as a copy of a document he had once found in the files of the Los Angeles ADL office. GURVITZ said he believed it to have been

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originally a product of the FBI, although he had never seen its original cover page. GURVITZ explained that when he originally came across this document, it was attached to a memo from former Los Angeles ADL employee BETSY ROSENTHAL. The memo indicated ROSENTHAL had obtained the document from "official friends" and that it should be treated confidentially. GURVITZ explained that "official friends" is ADL parlance meaning a law enforcement source. GURVITZ noted that the version presently shown to him is a photocopy and has numerous words which have been inked out. GURVITZ indicated that the version he first saw also contained the inked-out portions, but was not a photocopy; i.e. the portions were actually masked with ink. This, GURVITZ explained, allowed him to hold the document up to a light and read through the inked areas. Some of these areas mentioned FBI sources. From this GURVITZ concluded the document had been produced by the FBI. GURVITZ added, though, that he never attempted to confirm this with ROSENTHAL or anyone else in the ADL. GURVITZ eventually gave a copy of the NOI document to BULLOCK, and he sent another copy to MIRA BOLAND, an ADL investigator in Washington, D.C. GURVITZ sent a copy to BOLAND after she told him she was writing a newspaper article about the NOI. GURVITZ now knows, from being interviewed by the SFPD, that BOLAND and GERARD had become acquainted when she accompanied GERARD and some other police officers on an ADL-sponsored trip to Israel. Previously, he had been unaware that GERARD and BOLAND knew each other.

GURVITZ was also shown a copy of a twenty-eight page document titled "The African National Congress (ANC)/South African Communist Party (SACP) Alliance: Salient National And International Issues," a copy of a fourteen page document called the "Africa Activists' Guide," and a copy of a four page memo regarding "African National Congress Support Groups" (all of which are attached). GURVITZ indicated no familiarity with these documents.

GURVITZ was then shown a copy of the cover page (attached) of volume three of a June, 1986 FBI report titled, "Popular Front For The Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) - New York Area." GURVITZ indicated no familiarity with this report.

GURVITZ stated that, despite his discovery of the above NOI document, which he believes to have been produced by the FBI, he has never been told by anyone in the ADL that the ADL has any

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"sources" in the FBI, nor does GURVITZ know of any such ADL "sources" in the FBI.

This is not to say that the ADL does not have "sources" in American law enforcement. GURVITZ denied any knowledge of the ADL ever paying a law enforcement officer for information, if one does not count the value of trips to Israel which the ADL periodically sponsors for American law enforcement officers. The ADL does, however, make efforts to obtain information of value from its law enforcement contacts. GURVITZ and BULLOCK both engaged in such efforts on behalf of the ADL. GURVITZ noted that BULLOCK had the ability to obtain access to computerized law enforcement data bases, through which BULLOCK and the ADL could obtain such things as driver's license, vehicle registration and criminal history information. BULLOCK's ability to do this predated GURVITZ' ADL employment. GURVITZ, therefore, although he did eventually make his own law enforcement contacts, continued to use BULLOCK to obtain such information.

GURVITZ was, on his own, able to establish good rapport with three Los Angeles area law enforcement officers. They sometimes provided him with such things as copies of California driver's license photographs and computer printouts of California driver's license information, concerning persons of interest to the ADL. They gave him such things not because GURVITZ or the ADL was performing specific functions for them, but because they generally shared with the ADL information on matters of mutual interest. Sometimes, though, GURVITZ acknowledged, he would be able to obtain law enforcement information based on his specific requests. GURVITZ said the three officers with whom he established good rapport were all Los Angeles County Sheriff's deputies. He identified them as TOM GREEP, JERRY WHITFIELD and KEN INDICK. GURVITZ reiterated, though, that BULLOCK was his main source for access to computerized law enforcement records. GREEP, WHITFIELD and INDICK communicated with GURVITZ because they all were handling investigative matters which corresponded to areas of ADL investigative interest, and GURVITZ and the ADL had information which was of value to them.

The Los Angeles ADL office also received information from other law enforcement sources. GURVITZ recalled the ADL used to receive copies of monthly reports on white supremacist activity, which were published by the Portland, Oregon, Police Department. The Seattle office of the ADL would obtain copies of

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these reports and distribute them to other ADL offices. In addition, GURVITZ recalled that a couple of years earlier the Los Angeles ADL office obtained some police surveillance photographs of Nazi demonstrators which had been taken by the Glendale, California, Police Department in the 1960s.

GURVITZ was shown a copy of a San Francisco Chronicle newspaper article, dated February 12, 1993, titled, "Names of 12,000 Appear in Evidence Seized in Probe of Former S.F. Cop" (attached). GURVITZ was asked to note the names of two persons in the article, ABDEL HAMID SALAH and MOHAMMAD JARAD, who were listed as being from the Chicago, Illinois area and as having been detained by Israeli authorities. GURVITZ indicated no familiarity with either name. GURVITZ indicated that if the ADL had an interest in these people, any reference to them would likely be found in the files of the Chicago ADL office given that they are from the Chicago area. GURVITZ added that, in his opinion, an article about the SFPD investigation of BULLOCK and GERARD which appeared in the Los Angeles Times newspaper on February 26, 1993 (attached), is more accurate than anything he has seen from a San Francisco newspaper.

It was pointed out to GURVITZ that many media reports which have appeared about BULLOCK and GERARD have alleged a connection between the ADL and Israeli Intelligence. GURVITZ denied knowledge of any formal connection between the ADL and Israeli Intelligence. He added, though, that that did not mean there were no contacts between Israeli and ADL officials.

GURVITZ stated that, while he was employed by the ADL, officials from the Los Angeles Israeli Consulate would occasionally come to the Los Angeles ADL office to brief ADL employees on "what's going on in Israel." GURVITZ could not think of any examples of Israeli officials asking for information from ADL files, but GURVITZ also was not aware of any prohibition on sharing such information with Israel. GURVITZ was aware of only one example wherein information in possession of the ADL was actually transmitted to the Israeli Government. He is aware of that example because GURVITZ himself transmitted the information. GURVITZ explained that, in approximately 1992, he learned from a law enforcement contact that a known member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, named MICHAEL ELIAS, was about to travel from San Francisco International Airport to Haifa, Israel. GURVITZ called the Los Angeles Israeli Consulate,

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and advised a Deputy Consul General about the situation. Later the same day, GURVITZ was called back by another man, who said he was from the Israeli Consulate, and who asked GURVITZ to repeat the information about ELIAS. GURVITZ did not get this man's name, but their conversation was in Hebrew so GURVITZ felt confident the man was actually an Israeli Consulate official.

GURVITZ noted that ADL information collection activities are not limited to only non-Jewish targets. GURVITZ knows the ADL also collects information about the Jewish Defense League, which the ADL considers an extremist organization, and about followers of the late Israeli rabbi MEIR KAHANE and his right-wing "Kach" political party.

What follows are actual copies of several spy reports that Anti-Defamation League (ADE) operative Roy Bullock filed with the ADE, reporting on several different meetings that he attended. There is also, interestingly, a report on the activities of African National Congress leader Chris Hani who was recently assassinated. Whether the ADE or any of its associated agencies, such as the Israeli Mossad, had a hand in orchestrating Hani's demise is a matter subject to speculation. The pages shown here (reproduced in size for space considerations) are exact photoreproductions of documents released by the San Francisco District Attorney's Office, which is conducting a criminal investigation of the ADE's spy network and its illegal activities.

SUBJECT: Chris Hani
Place : Los Angeles, Ca.
Date : 4/27/91

HANI. DBX

Chris Hani's Los Angeles appearance, held at the Hilton Hotel, drew a disappointingly low turnout. Chairs were set for an anticipated 500; less than 230 attended and the bulk of the audience was comprised of the Communist Party faithful. The oldline cadre of white and predominately Jewish members are rapidly fading from the scene. The relics still living dottering old creatures, many confined to walkers or canes. The leadership has passed to a generation of largely Chicano activists with names like Romero, Munoz, Velazquez and Rodriguez.

Perhaps because of the speaker, there were a couple of dozen Black participants including the Master of Ceremonies, Prof. Gerald Horne. The rest of the audience was middle-aged to elderly whites with a salting of Young Communist Leaguers in their mid-twenties. The literature tables, consisting of displays of Marxist classics and party propaganda, were staffed by Chicano females. Other Chicanos acted as ushers, stage hands and security. Stacks of the People's Weekly World interview with Chris Hani (attached to this report) were freely distributed and batches of petitions were available calling on President Bush to main sanctions. One table was devoted to ANC material including T-shirts, badges and decals.

The theme of the meeting was emblazoned on a paper banner stretched across the stage "Take Apartheid Apart." A second banner, which appeared to be hastily executed, read "Congress. Dont Lift the Sanctions," which affixed to a side wall. Perhaps it was symbolic that the stage banner partially collapsed just as Hani stepped to the microphone. A party functionary, clearly distressed by the disturbance, quickly tore the dangling slogan down and dumped it off stage.

The auditorium was embarrassingly empty when the scheduled opening time of 1:00 pm arrived; only a handful of the elder folk were wedged into the center row of seats. By 2:00 enough people had straggled in to at least make a respectable showing. At 2:30 the program organizers decided to make the best of the attendance and start the proceedings. Prof. Horne, unctuously informed the audience that the delay had been caused by the demands of the news media for interviews with Hani. This was only partially true since the tv camera crews had finished by 1:30. More likely the comrades stalled hoping for a full house, a development which never occurred.

Due to the lateness of the hour the welcoming ceremonies were shortened and the entertainment portion of the program - a musicade performed by the South African Gunboat Dancers - was mercifully cancelled. Gerald Horne, Chairman of the Black Studies Program at UC Santa Barbara and a member of the National Lawyers Guild chaired the event. An elegant and polished speaker, Comrade Horne pledged anew his solidarity with the ANC whose struggle for freedom paralleled that of Black America. We are both fighting "the same racism, the same greed, even the same corporations."

subject: Scott Kraft
date : 3/25/90

KRAFT. DBX

Scott Wallace Kraft (dob: [REDACTED]) is a writer for the Los Angeles Times specializing in South African affairs. He is a member of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists. Currently he resides at [REDACTED] Avenue in Venice (a suburban beach community of Los Angeles noted for its bohemian atmosphere). Subject is described as a white male 6,2/170 lbs with blond hair and green eyes. (photo attached).

He is living with and/or traveling with Ms. Nadine Marie Vandervelde, possibly a RSA national. She is a white female with a dob of [REDACTED]. She is 5,4 and weighs 108 lbs. (photo attached). She had a previous address of [REDACTED] Street, #5 in Studio City (also in the Los Angeles basin).

Kraft's articles appear frequently in the Times, are well researched and written. Since many of his dispatches carry a South African dateline, it is assumed that he spends, at least part of his time, in South Africa.

subject: Allan Boesak/ Shehadah Shehadah
place : Los Angeles, Ca.
date : April 27, 1991

Boesak

Only 37 people, most of them parishioners of St. John's Episcopal Church, gathered in its neo-Gothic pile to hear two visiting ministers speak on the church's role in peace and justice. It was a bare bones program: a welcoming statement by Rev. Warner R. Travvhan, Rector of St. John's which was bland and inoffensive, two 20 minute speeches by the principles and the chanting of a litany written by the United Congregational Church in South Africa. There was no literature save for the program. At the conclusion spokesmen for the sponsoring organizations were given two minutes each. Rev. Hans L. Molhorn for the Southern Calif. Ecumenical Taskforce on South Africa and Rev. Darrel Meyers for the recently established Taskforce on Christian Presence in the Holy Land. The evening ended with the collection plate being passed.

Shehadah Shehadah, Anglican Canon of St. George Cathedral in Jerusalem and currently a resident of McCormick Theological Center in Chicago, spoke first. A portly (i.e., stout) figure in a rumpled suit of atrocious color. Shehadah exuded warmth and friendliness from every pore. Like a favorite uncle who had come to patch up a family quarrel ("we are all Semites, Jews and Arabs alike") he adopted a tone of 'come, let us reason together.' - at the outset of his remarks.

As counsel for the defense of the Arab world, Shehadah portrayed a culture free of bias and religious bigotry. In Jerusalem, for instance, there was no discrimination between Arab and Christian. As for the PLO, which he repeatedly stressed was the voice of Palestinian aspirations, there were "Christian board members." As for the long standing feud between Israel and the Palestinians, it was the only problem troubling the region. Once it was solved and a democratic, secular state of Palestine created, the divisions affecting the Middle East would cease. It would, once again, be just one, big, happy family.

From this lofty pinnacle, Shehadah then descended into apportioning the blame for the present, unfortunate difficulties. Part of the problem was the misperception of Israel as the only Democracy in the Middle East. Granted, he said, compared to the autocratic Arab Kingdoms surrounding it, the Zionist state appeared democratic. "But it is not a democracy to us Palestinians." For Palestinians in Israel, there is at best, only a second-class citizenship. "The Jewish farmer has all the water he wants" while the Palestinian farmer has little. "Our villages do not receive the state subsidizes Israel lavishes on Jewish settlements. Our schools and classrooms receive only a pittance compared to state funding of Jewish educational institutions. In the annual budget for villages and towns, Palestinians get less than 4 % of the allotted funds."

He had recently examined old maps of the area and was shocked at the discovery of how rapidly Arab control of the land had passed into the hands of the Jews. In 1948 Arabs owned 94% of the territory; today it is less than 2%.

The only solution was the creation of a Palestinian homeland and this, Shehadah asserted, must include the West Bank, the Golan Heights, Sinai and the Gaze strip.

During a brief question period, someone remarked that they had read in the Los Angeles Times where a rabbi had claimed Israel was guaranteed to the Jews by God. Shehadah smiled. Yes, he was aware of the Biblical passage giving Israel unto perpetuity to the seed of Abraham. But, he added, what went before and after. When the Jews ended their exile in the desert, did they come into an empty land? Were there not many nations

living in the area. Nor should we forget the "human aspect of this problem." Just because it was prophesied in the Bible, must the Palestinians living there now simply pick up and move. Had they no rights in the matter."

And to the question, what can the United States do to help resolve the problem, Shehadah replied by reminding the audience that Israel existed largely due to American favors. People in the U.S., he said, "should pressure the government to lean on Israel by threatening to suspend its special privileges. These included "massive foreign aid", "no tariffs on imports" and the protected sale of Israeli bonds. In sort, cut the purse strings and they will soon come to their senses.

Shehadah had also heard, from the lips of Jimmy Carter, that "there wasn't an Arab state that wanted to see a Palestinian homeland established." But this was easy to understand. "After all, Palestine will be a democratic, secular state. And that example will prove a threat to all the royal thrones and nationalist dictatorships."

The Reverend Allan Boesak, now sailing under the title of Director, of the Foundation for Peace and Justice in South Africa, cuts a far different figure from that of Shehadah. Save and urban, impeccably dressed in a fashionable Armani suit, the former President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, is savoir-faire to his (well manicured) fingertips. His English is clearly enunciated and flows smoothly although his voice is pitched rather high and has a rhythmical undulation sometimes referred to as "singsong."

Boesak thought that the church in South Africa was "entering a period of great danger." He explained that the government "was now speaking the language that the church likes to hear", that is- reasonableness and reform. There are voices within the Christian community who are urging a greater accommodation with Pretoria. They say, "We have been so negative toward the government when it was clearly wrong that we should change our tone now that de Klerk has embraced reform." Boesak called this "the language of euphoria" and roundly denounced it. Such spokesmen were only concerned with surface, not substance. Everything to date was only cosmetic.

"The new South Africa cannot be built by the oppressor for the oppressed." Rather, "everything will have to be broken down and started anew." In this hour of national peril, the church's duty was never more clear or urgent. A clean slate must be demanded or else "a new South Africa will be just a slightly different version of apartheid."

In the question period however, Boesak was a trifle more optimistic. "I think we are moving toward genuine negotiations" he said. But he warned against "lifting the boycott until all the laws of apartheid have been scrapped." He added that "a date for free elections must also be announced" before any talk of resuming trade with South Africa commence.

The only time Boesak touched on Israel was during the question period. He remarked that should it continue in it's present posture, it would soon stand "in moral isolation just like South Africa today."

CULTURE DBA

subject: Symposium on Cultural and Academic
Links with South Africa.
place : Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel, Los Angeles, Ca.
date : 5/ 11-12/91

The once postponed symposium sponsored by the UN Centre against Apartheid finally took place, although pared down from its original program and without any of the announced Hollywood stars billed in the advertisements. The earlier event had been cancelled at the last minute without any notification; an oversight for which Ms. Christina Galante of the Centre apologized. Someone, she explained, was supposed to leave a recorded message on the telephone hotline explaining that the meeting had been postponed. But the message was not activated until two days before the scheduled conference. As a result, several people showed up at the hotel only to learn that the symposium date had been changed.

After observing the chaos surrounding the symposium of May 11-12, it is easy to understand the earlier confusion. As an organizing force, the Centre borders on incompetence. The Los Angeles chapter is composed of female volunteers, apparently without any prior knowledge of how to run a conference. They misplaced their literature, lost the delegate list and put forth a printed agenda that was only half fulfilled. On Saturday, several participants were turned away because the session was a private conference, closed to the public (although it was not so announced). However, on Friday, May 10, a "public" gathering had occurred at the hotel-an event not listed on the program and only posted in the hotel lobby. Before the convening of the Sunday segment of the agenda, two rows of chairs were removed near the speaker's stand on the instructions of one of the organizers. Ten minutes later, the chairs were returned on the orders of another organizer. Another snit developed over who was sitting where, with the place names being shuffled from chair to chair and table to table. It is small wonder that the meeting began almost 40 minutes late.

The opening session was billed as "The Beginning of the End of Apartheid: The Role of the International Community." Needless to say, few of the speakers actually addressed themselves to the theme. The Mayor of Los Angeles, Tom Bradley, offered a few extemporaneous remarks, boasting of the city's leading role in organizing a boycott of South Africa. He pledged that he would continue to lead the fight until apartheid was totally abolished. Until that time "anyone doing business with South Africa will not do business with the city of Los Angeles." This sentiment was seconded by the chairman of the LA City Council, Bill Farrand. He paid homage to retiring city councilman Farrall who had spearheaded the anti-apartheid campaign in the city. ("He taught us the meaning of the word") Like all the other speakers, Farrand advocated no let up in the boycott. Nelson Mandela was free today, he ended, "but Mr. Mandela still cannot vote in South Africa."

The chairman, Prof. Ibrahim A. Gambari of Nigeria, read his remarks; the only person at the symposium to offer a written paper. He traced the recent developments in South Africa which he characterized as hopeful but warned those "states that were now calling for the lifting of sanctions that Apartheid is still alive."

Barry Gordon, National President of the Screen Actors Guild, who had taken part in the closed proceedings the previous day, summed up the thrust of the conference when he spoke of "establishing a duel track of pressure and assistance." The cultural boycott cannot be relaxed but efforts must now be made to assist in the development of a "democratic culture in South Africa."

At the closed session, he had been in the same room as the South Africa

actor Zakes Nkomo and playwright Maishe Maponya- "an experience I will never forget. And it's particularly poignant," he went on "when you realize that these performers have international acclaim, that we have seen their work and marveled at them, and yet, they still have difficulty performing in certain areas of their own country. This situation cannot be allowed to exist and will not be allowed to exist as long as we continue what we started, which is to keep up the pressure on the South African government...To tell them...that they're not going far enough, that they must begin to make now the definitive moves to end apartheid in that country." But with political freedom, which hopefully will come soon, there must also be artistic freedom. And therefore, we have another goal as artists and representatives of the cultural community. And that is to assist the artists and artistic community that already flourishes in South Africa. They need all the help we can give them, all the support we can give them. As Union President I am particularly heartened to hear about the progress being made in terms of forming actors, musicians...into trade unions in South Africa, to break down this dual structure that currently exists in favor of a...non-racial performers union...They need to know how we organize, they need to know how we deal with management and great steps were made in that direction when representatives of the writers guild, directors guild and other guilds met with representatives from South Africa to begin that process of communication.

Tebogo Mafole spoke as the representative of the African National Congress. A short, barrel-chested man in a teal blue suit, Mr. Mafole was the social lion of the symposium. He collected a crowd wherever he went and seemed particularly attached to Mr. Arja Salomonson, a Finnish entertainer.

Like the other speakers, Mafole offered an extremely cautious appraisal of the pace of reform in South Africa. As he put it "the changes to date are not profound." He suggested that "the yardstick to be used in measuring the Pretoria's regime compliance with the UN resolution is the issue of land." He called it "the single most important step" in re-creating a democratic South Africa.

Mafole was puzzled over the savage fighting in the townships and asked rhetorically: Why have our people turned on one another? The answer he deftly delivered. The "so-called black on black violence" was promoted by the South African government "in order to weaken the forces of liberation." As a prerequisite to solving this problem, he called, as a first step, for the abolition of "cultural weapons" (i.e., Zulu spears, etc) although he did not advocate ANC self-defense units.

The boycott must not only be maintained but "strengthened." And the greatest pressure must be applied to the United States. As Mafole put it, "the South African regime could not exist a single day without the support of the United States."

He was followed to the rostrum by a representative of the other "liberation movement" recognized by the UN - Mr. Ahmed Gora Ebrahim of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Ebrahim was the only speaker to break the decorum of the conference. In blunt words he told the audience "Liberation is never given. It must be fought for." Or again, "you should not expect any change in the country if you are not willing to fight for it." And changes, he added, "must be fundamental."

While Mafole lumbered through his remarks in a dull, plodding style, Ebrahim delivered a lively, sarcastically humorous recital which was clearly the hit of the convention. He mocked de Klerk's request that sanctions be lifted by sneering that "it was the slave owner asking for a reward for freeing his slaves." The audience erupted into laughter and applause. Then, remembering that he was at a cultural symposium, Ebrahim

devoted a few sentences to the subject of "people's culture." Culture, he asserted, "must be part and parcel of the oppressed people...and the artist must identify with that struggle." It was not enough that South African actors came to Hollywood and played gangster roles, he continued. That was not developing the kind of revolutionary consciousness which must form an integral part of true culture.

A short message of greeting from Congressman Ron Dellums was read ("keep the South African government moving forward...") and a functionary from the Mayor's office distributed several "awards of merit" to participants of the symposium. With that the morning session abruptly closed.

The afternoon segment of the program, which began predictably late, heard "reports" from the panels of the previous day. (Although the program listed the closed panel discussions lasting throughout the day, all but one of the sessions ended after an hour. After that the participants retired to the bar, or left the hotel altogether. There was, in short, very little in the way of actual work performed.)

Ms. Aila Saijonmaa, a tall, dark blond actress from Finland read a few notes she made while chairing the closed panel session on "the future role of cultural, academic and entertainment communities." Her voice edged with militancy, Ms. Saijonmaa opened with the pledge "we shall make known to the world that the international cultural community will not rest until the present fascistic regime in South Africa is, but a grey memory..." The "implementation of the cultural boycott" she continued, demonstrated "the power of the artist."

She called for the continuation of the boycott but believed that it "is time to change our position...from against to for." In the future, the role of the artist must be "to support and build together in South Africa a cultural community in the post-apartheid period." Ms. Saijonmaa made it clear that this task would be directed entirely by the progressive (i.e., ANC) forces. "It is up to you to tell us when you want us to come to South Africa and under what conditions. Do you want us to come and raise our voice against apartheid? Do you want us to give workshops? Those of us who come to South Africa must have a purpose. (We must consult before we arrive) so that you can tell us what to say when we come...But be confident that we are at your side..."

This servile performance was lustily applauded by the audience.

Until the close of the session, panelists seated at the head tables took turns answering questions from the audience. According to the place names on the tables participants included, Rashid Latif, Labu Nwanya, I. Souli, H.H. Jorh, John Kani, Lawrence Dworkin and Maishe Maponya. Dennis Brulov, identified as a professor at the University of Pittsburgh, proved to be one of the more articulate. He called for "the strengthening and widening of the boycott" and for increased vigilance on the part of apartheid's foes. "Africans", he continued, "also believe that it is the (mission) of the international cultural community to counter the propaganda that the apartheid regime is spreading in this country to the effect that apartheid is over..."

He saw a double task facing the progressive, artistic community in the future: (a) "popularizing the struggle against apartheid and (b) insuring that the liberation of South Africa is total and complete. We have also on the list of things to be done...encouraging the growth of an alternative culture inside South Africa." This, he ended his remarks, was necessary to "fill the vacuum created by the collapse of apartheid."

Few of the answers actually addressed the question and most of the speakers were short on concrete suggestions. For example, a lady asked

"What are you saying to the Hollywood studios and television productions...about the cultural boycott. What must they say and what must they do? What behavior do you want from them?" (Many of the questions were phrased in this kind of grovelling language) Maishe Maponya (I believe) replied with an airy discourse on the "need to assist the South African cultural workers to develop their culture."

Ms. Christa Armstrong, a member of the board of directors of the African Arts Fund, Inc., made one of the few specific proposals on the conference. She called on American film studios to allow African students to observe production techniques on the job. The ACA would pay all the bills and make the necessary arrangements. "All we ask of you," she continued, "is to expose our students to the way films are made and to have our students working with you..."

The African Arts Fund, Inc., 156 East 79th Street, Suite 6A, New York, N.Y., was also allowed to display their literature at the conference; the only organization to do so except for the sponsoring UN. The Executive Director is Dawn Zain, a South African exile who had previously served in the Unit Against Apartheid at the UN. At least three of the board members came to the symposium including Zain, and vigorous solicited funds from the Hollywood crowd in attendance.

Comments:

As a substitute for the earlier scheduled symposium, this conference displayed signs of being hurriedly convened with little organizational planning. Not one of the Hollywood personalities advertised in the promotional literature appeared. Only one producer of standing, Frank Capra Jr. was in attendance and he took no part in the proceedings. Although he was listed as a special guest, he made only a token appearance and left early.

Two themes dominated the conversations among the participants in the lobby and during the luncheon: how to maintain the boycott and how to counter the "South African propaganda machine." Everyone agreed that the boycott was seriously eroding. While influential voices are still raised in support of the cultural isolation of South Africa, there is a noticeable trend developing to view the de Klerk government as sincere and honest in its efforts at reform. Anti-apartheid forces are also being characterized as "negative", as only being against something with no positive proposals of their own. To this end, the anti-apartheid movement has been forced on the defensive.

For the African participants in particular, there is a mood of depression. They feel that the American news media has been manipulated by the South African government. The phrase on everyone's lips was "the South African propaganda machine". -how effective it had been in convincing the world that significant change had taken place and that relations should now be normalized. Too many people are now believing this message and for this reason, the boycott is weakening rapidly.

Coverage of the event by the news media was almost nil. The Los Angeles Times did not mention the symposium and only one local tv channel referred to the meeting. That was a 24 second sound bite showing the chairman, Prof. Gambari, addressing the meeting. If the purpose was publicity, the event failed dismally.

What follows is the list of secret files on a wide variety of organizations and individuals maintained by ADL (fact finder Roy Edward Bullock). These pages (reduced in size for space considerations) are exact photoreproductions of the documents released by the San Francisco District Attorney's office, which is conducting a criminal investigation of the ADL's spy network.

The files themselves were seized by the FBI and the San Francisco Police Department in a raid of Bullock's apartment in San Francisco. Copies of Bullock's files were also found in the possession of former San Francisco police officer Tom Gerard and in the offices of the ADL in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

In light of the ADL's method of operation as unveiled in the investigation of Bullock's activities on behalf of the ADL, it is certain that the information contained in the files was also inserted into the files of the national headquarters of the ADL in Manhattan.

Although the ADL denies it has any ties to the state of Israel, there is absolutely no question that the content of these files has also been forwarded by the ADL to its de facto foreign principal, Israel's secret intelligence service, the Mossad.

The files are divided into four groups: ARAB (referring to Arab organizations); PINKO (referring to liberal organizations); RIGHT (referring to large populist and nationalist organizations); and SKINS (referring to so-called "skinhead" groups). Note that there are numerous references to LIBERTY LOBBY, the SPOTLIGHT and the Populist Party in the RIGHT category.

Note also that the ADL operative did not maintain any files on so-called mainstream conservative or self-styled "responsible conservative" entities such as William F. Buckley, Jr.'s *National Review* magazine or *Human Events*, the conservative weekly, both of which are under the discipline of the ADL.

RB ARAB
ORGANIZATIONS

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1		INITIALS: COMM
2		INITIALS: MUS
3		INITIALS: PALE
4		INITIALS: PAX
5	ARAB AMERICAN DEMO. CLUB	INITIALS: AADC
6	ARAB BOOK CENTER	INITIALS:
7	ARAB PEOPLE'S COALITION	INITIALS: COMM
8	ARAB RELIEF FUND FOR LEBANON	INITIALS: PHRC
9	ARAB STUDIES QUARTERLY/ MERIP	INITIALS: MERIP
10	ARAB-AMER. DEMOCRATIC CLUB	INITIALS: AADC
11	ARAB-AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC CLUB	INITIALS:
12	ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADS	INITIALS: AAUG
13	ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADS.	INITIALS: AAUG
14	ARABIC BOOK CENTER	INITIALS:
15	BAY AREA FRIENDS OF CHRISTIC INST.	INITIALS: BAFCI
16	BETHLEHEM ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: PALE
17	BLACK MUSLIMS	INITIALS: MSU
18	COMM. FOR A DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE	INITIALS: PALE
19	COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: COMM
20	COUNCIL ARAB AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS	INITIALS: CAAO
21	DEM.FRONT FOR LIB.OF PALESTINE	INITIALS: PALE
22	DEM.FRONT LIBERATION PALESTINE	INITIALS: DFLP
23	DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR LIB.OF PALE.	INITIALS: DFLP
24	DEMOCRATIC PALESTINIAN YOUTH	INITIALS: DYP
25	DEMOCRATIC PALESTINIAN YOUTH	INITIALS: SPY
26	DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES	INITIALS: MUS
27	EL FATAH	INITIALS: FATAH

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ORGANIZATIONS

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28	EL FATAH	INITIALS: PALE
29	GEN.UNION OF PALESTINIAN STUDENTS	INITIALS: GUPS
30	GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINE STUDENTS	INITIALS: GUPS
31	GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN STUD.	INITIALS: GUPS
32	INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN-AMER.STUDIES	INITIALS: COMM
33	IRANIAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: IRAN
34	IRAQI INTELLIGENCE OFFICER	INITIALS:
35	ISLAMIC JIHAD	INITIALS: IRAN
36	ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF ORANGE COUNTY	INITIALS:
37	ISRAELI CIVIL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION	INITIALS:
38	JIFNA ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: PALE
39	KHILAFAH	INITIALS: MUS
40	LAW IN THE SERVICE OF MAN	INITIALS: PALE
41	MASJID AL-ISLAM	INITIALS: MUS
42	MASQID AL-SAFF MOSQUE	INITIALS: ISLAM
43	MIDDLE EAST JUSTICE NETWORK	INITIALS: PALE
44	MIDDLE EAST JUSTICE NETWORK, THE	INITIALS: PALE
45	MUSLIM MUTADHAKKIRUN ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: MUS
46	MUSLIM STUDENTS ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: MSA
47	MUSLIM STUDENTS ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: MUS
48	MUSLUM STUDENTS UNION	INITIALS: MSU
49	NATION OF ISLAM	INITIALS: ISLAM
50	NATIONAL ASSOC. ARAB AMERICANS	INITIALS: NAAA
51	NATIONAL LAWYER'S GUILD	INITIALS: NLG
52	NOVEMBER 29TH COMMITTEE	INITIALS: N29
53	NT.ASSOC. ARAB AMERICANS	INITIALS: NAAA
54	NT.ASSOC. OF ARAB AMERICANS	INITIALS: NAAA
55	NT.ASSOC.ARAB AMERICAN	INITIALS: NAAA

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ORGANIZATIONS

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56	OCCUPIED LAND FUND	INITIALS: PALE
57	PALESTINE AMERICAN YOUTH	INITIALS: PALE
58	PALESTINE ARAB CLUB	INITIALS: PALE
59	PALESTINE ARAB FUND	INITIALS: PAF
60	PALESTINE ARAB FUND	INITIALS: PALE
61	PALESTINE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH ORG.	INITIALS: PDYO
62	PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN	INITIALS: PHRC
63	PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN/82	INITIALS: PHRC
64	PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PSC
65	PALESTINE WOMAN'S ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: PALE
66	PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN/82	INITIALS: PHRC
67	PFLP	INITIALS: PALE
68	POP.FRONT LIBERATION PALESTINE	INITIALS: PFLP
69	POPULAR FRONT LIBERATION OF PALE.	INITIALS: PFLP
70	PROGRESSIVE MUSLIM ALLIANCE	INITIALS: MUS
71	PROGRESSIVE MUSLIM ALLIANCE	INITIALS: PMA
72	SACRED HOUSE OF ISLAM	INITIALS: ISLAM
73	THE FAMILY SPONSORSHIP PROJECT	INITIALS: PALE
74	THE OCCUPIED LAND FUND	INITIALS: PALE
75	UNION OF PAL. WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: PALE
76	UNION OF PALE.WOMEN'S ASSOC.	INITIALS: PALE
77	UNION OF PALESTINIAN WOMAN'S ASSOC.	INITIALS: PALE

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ORGANIZATIONS

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1	INITIALS: APART
2	INITIALS: APC
3	INITIALS: CISPE
4	INITIALS: COMM
5	INITIALS: CUBA
6	INITIALS: DRUGS
7	INITIALS: GAY
8	INITIALS: INCAR
9	INITIALS: JEW
10	INITIALS: MAP
11	INITIALS: NIC
12	INITIALS: PALE
13	INITIALS: PART
14	INITIALS: PAX
15	INITIALS: PERU
16	INITIALS: PHIL
17	INITIALS: RCP
18	INITIALS: SRAF
19	INITIALS:
20	ACT NOW INITIALS: GAY
21	ACT UP INITIALS: GAY
22	ACT-UP INITIALS: GAY
23	ACTION FOR ANIMALS INITIALS:
24	ADRIAN 17 INITIALS: GAY
25	AFRICAN BLACK STUDENTS ORG./SF STA. INITIALS: BLACK
26	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONFRESS INITIALS: APART
27	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS INITIALS: ANC

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28	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	INITIALS: NAC
29	AFRICAN NETWORK	INITIALS: APART
30	AFRICAN NT.REPARATIONS ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: ANRO
31	AFRICAN PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS: APSP
32	AFRICAN PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY PARTY	INITIALS: APRP
33	AFRICAN PEOPLES SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS: APSP
34	AFRICAN PEOPLES SOLIDARITY COMM.	INITIALS: APSC
35	AFRICAN PEOPLES SOLIDARITY COMMTT.	INITIALS: AFSC
36	AFRICAN PEOPLES SOLIDARITY COMMTT.	INITIALS: APSC
37	AFRICAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: APART
38	AFRICAN STUDENT'S ASSOC. (PRES.86)	INITIALS: APART
39	AFRICANS UNITED FOR PROGRESS	INITIALS: APART
40	AFRO-AMER.STUDENTS FOR RACIAL JUST.	INITIALS: BLACK
41	AFSCME LOCAL 3218 (VICE PRESIDENT)	INITIALS:
42	AFSCME LOCAL 3506	INITIALS: LABOR
43	ALBUQ.INTER-HEMP.ED.RESOURCE CNTR.	INITIALS: AIER
44	ALEXANDRIA ASS.OF HUMAN RGTS.ADVOC.	INITIALS: JBAK
45	ALL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS	INITIALS: APC
46	ALL PEOPLES CONGRESS	INITIALS: APC
47	ALL-AFRICAN STUDENT CONFERENCE	INITIALS: APART
48	ALL-PEOPLE'S CONGRESS	INITIALS: APC
49	ALLIANCE FOR PHILIPPINE CONCERNS	INITIALS: AFPC
50	ALLIANCE TO STOP FIRST STRIKE	INITIALS: ASFS
51	ALLIANCE TO STOP POLICE ABUSE	INITIALS: GAY
52	ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCIL	INITIALS:
53	ALTERNATIVE INFORMATION CENTER	INITIALS: AIC
54	AMER-I-CAN	INITIALS: ISLAM
55	AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION	INITIALS: ACLU

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ORGANIZATIONS

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56	AMERICAN FOR PEACE NOW	INITIALS: PAX
57	AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER	INITIALS:
58	AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT	INITIALS: AIM
59	AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENT ORGAN.	INITIALS: PART
60	AMERICAN MUSLIM MISSION	INITIALS: APART
61	ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE	INITIALS: SA
62	ANC MEETING	INITIALS: ANC
63	ANG KATIPUNAN	INITIALS: AK
64	ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE/AFSCME	INITIALS: APART
65	ANTI-MILITARISM COMMITTEE	INITIALS:
66	ANTI-RACIST ACTION	INITIALS: ARA
67	ANTONIO MACEO BRIGADE	INITIALS: CUBA
68	APARTHEID BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN	INITIALS: APART
69	APRIL 19TH COMMITTEE AGAINST NAZIS	INITIALS:
70	ARAB BAATH SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS: ABSP
71	ARAB LESBIAN NETWORK	INITIALS: GAY
72	ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE	INITIALS: ARMEN
73	ARMENIAN PEOPLES MOVEMENT	INITIALS: APM
74	ARMS CONTROL RESEARCH CENTER	INITIALS: CAIB
75	ARMS CONTROL RESEARCH CENTER	INITIALS: PAX
76	ART AGAINST APARTHEID	INITIALS: APART
77	ARTIST'S TELEVISION ACCESS	INITIALS: PAX
78	ARTISTS & VIDEO MAKERS AGAINST T/WAR	INITIALS: PAX
79	ARTISTS AGAINST APARTHEID	INITIALS: APART
80	ARTISTS AND WRITERS OUT LOUD	INITIALS: PAX
81	ASIAN LAW CAUCUS	INITIALS: ALC
82	ASIAN LAW CAUSUS	INITIALS: N29
83	AUDIO ARCHIVES	INITIALS: APART

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84	AUTHOR OF MEASURE J	INITIALS:
85	BABYLON BURNING	INITIALS:
86	BACK COUNTRY ACTION NETWORK	INITIALS:
87	BAD COP/NO DONUT	INITIALS: GAY
88	BARRICADA INTERNACIONAL (CO-EDITOR)	INITIALS: NICA
89	BARRICADA INTERNATIONAL	INITIALS: NICA
90	BAY AREA ANTI-APARTHEID NETWORK	INITIALS: APART
91	BAY AREA ANTI-RACIST ACTION	INITIALS: ARA
92	BAY AREA ANTI-RACIST ACTION	INITIALS: BARA
93	BAY AREA COAL. FOR REPRODUCTIVE RGTS	INITIALS: PART
94	BAY AREA FREE SOUTH AFRICA COMM.	INITIALS: APART
95	BAY AREA FREE SOUTH AFRICA MOVE.	INITIALS: BAFSA
96	BAY AREA FREE SOUTH AFRICA MOVEMENT	INITIALS: BAFSA
97	BAY AREA FRIENDS OF CHRISTIC INST.	INITIALS: BAFCI
98	BAY AREA JEW TASKFORCE ON CEN. AMER.	INITIALS: JEW
99	BAY AREA LABOR COMMTT. ON CEN. AMER.	INITIALS: BALCC
100	BAY AREA NT. CONF. BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: NCBL
101	BAY AREA PEACE COUNCIL	INITIALS:
102	BAY AREA PEACE NAVY	INITIALS:
103	BAY AREA REPORTER	INITIALS: GAY
104	BAY AREA TIMES	INITIALS: GAY
105	BAY AREA VETS. AGST. WAR IN MID. EAST	INITIALS:
106	BAY AREA/NT. CONF. BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: NCBL
107	BAY GUARDIAN	INITIALS: PAX
108	BAY GUARIAN	INITIALS: PAX
109	BEEBEE MEMORIAL C.M.E. TEMPLE	INITIALS: APART
110	BEN LINDER CONSTRUCTION BRIGADE	INITIALS: NICA
111	BIG MOUNT. NATIVE PEOPLE'S SUPPORT	INITIALS: AIM

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112	BIR ZEIT UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTOR	INITIALS:
113	BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT AZANIA	INITIALS: APART
114	BLACK FREEDOM FIGHTERS COALITION	INITIALS:
115	BLACK MEN UNITED FOR CHANGE	INITIALS: BLACK
116	BLACK STUDIES DEPART., S.F. STATE	INITIALS: BLACK
117	BLACK UNITED FUND	INITIALS: APART
118	BORICUAN POP. ARMY FOR PR INDEPEND.	INITIALS: PART
119	BOYCOTT COKE	INITIALS: APART
120	BOYCOTT SHELL COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
121	BREAKTHROUGH	INITIALS: PFOC
122	BRIGADA A. MACEO (CUBA)	INITIALS: CUBA
123	BROTHERS OF AFRICAN DESCENT	INITIALS: BLACK
124	BULLETIN IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM	INITIALS: FIT
125	CALENDAR MAGAZINE	INITIALS: JBAC
126	CALIFORNIA VOICE NEWSPAPER	INITIALS: APART
127	CAMAPAGN AGAINST APARTHEID	INITIALS: APART
128	CAMPAIGN AGAINST APARTHEID	INITIALS: APART
129	CAMPAIGN AGAINST APARTHIED	INITIALS: APART
130	CAMPUS PEACE COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
131	CAMPUS PEACE COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PAX
132	CANADIANS FOR JUSTICE IN MID. EAST	INITIALS: N29
133	CAPP STREET CENTER	INITIALS: APART
134	CAPP STREET FOUNDATION	INITIALS: CAPP
135	CARPENTERS LOCAL 22	INITIALS: LABOR
136	CASE EL SALVADOR	INITIALS:
137	CASE EL SALVADOR (MAILING LIST)	INITIALS:
138	CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS	INITIALS:
139	CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL	INITIALS: CDR

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140	CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL	INITIALS: CFDR
141	CENTER FOR INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING	INITIALS: CIR
142	CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST STUDIES	INITIALS:
143	CENTRAL AMER. RESEARCH INSTITUTE	INITIALS: CARIN
144	CENTRO LEGAL DE LA RAZA	INITIALS: RAZA
145	CHAIRPERSON:CHICANO STUDIES,BERK.	INITIALS:
146	CHOP FROM THE TOP	INITIALS: LABOR
147	CHRISTIC INSTITUTE	INITIALS:
148	CHRISTIC INSTITUTE	INITIALS: CHRIS
149	CHURCH NETWORK ON THE PHILIPPINES	INITIALS: PHIL
150	CISPES	INITIALS:
151	CISPES	INITIALS: CISPE
152	CISPES	INITIALS: N29
153	CITIZENS FOR REPRESENTATIVE GOVT.	INITIALS: CRG
154	COALITION AGAINST POLICE ABUSE	INITIALS: DRUGS
155	COALITION FOR NICARAGUA	INITIALS: CFN
156	COALITION OF BLACK	INITIALS: APART
157	COALITION OF BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS	INITIALS: LABOR
158	COM.SOLIDARITY PEOPLE EL SALVADOR	INITIALS: CISPE
159	COMITE POR CENTRO DE LA RAZA	INITIALS: RAZA
160	COMM. FOR FREEDOM IN ARGENTINA	INITIALS:
161	COMM.PERMANENT ISRAEL-PALESTIN.PAX	INITIALS:
162	COMMISSION OF INQUIRY	INITIALS: COMM
163	COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: APART
164	COMMITTEE AGAINST LOCKHEED D-5	INITIALS: CALDS
165	COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: APART
166	COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: COMM
167	COMMITTEE TO FREE GERONIMO PRATT	INITIALS: PFOC

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168	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: APART
169	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: COC
170	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: COMM
171	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: CUBA
172	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: GAY
173	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: JEW
174	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: NLG
175	COMMITT.FOR ACAD.FREEDOM IN ISR...	INITIALS: PALE
176	COMMITT.FOR EQUALITY AND JUSTICE	INITIALS: N29
177	COMMITT.FOR PEACE AND DEM. IN IRAN	INITIALS: IRAN
178	COMMITT.TO SUPPORT THE REVL.IN PERU	INITIALS: PERU
179	COMMUNIST PARTY, USA	INITIALS: CPUSA
180	COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: CWP
181	COMMUNIST YOUTH BRIGADE	INITIALS: RCP
182	COMMUNITY UNITED AGAINST VIOLENCE	INITIALS: GAY
183	COMMUNITY UNITED AGAINST VIOLENCE	INITIALS: GAY
184	COMMUNITY-LABOR COAL.SOCIAL/EC.JUST	INITIALS: LABOR
185	COMT.FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM OCCP.TER.	INITIALS: CAFIO
186	CONTINUING THE PEACE DIALOGUE	INITIALS:
187	CONTRA WATCH NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: CW
188	COP WATCH	INITIALS:
189	COPWATCH	INITIALS:
190	COUNCIL FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST	INITIALS: PALE
191	COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS	INITIALS: APART
192	COUNTERSPY MAGAZINE	INITIALS:
193	COVERT ACTION	INITIALS: CA
194	COVERT ACTION	INITIALS: CAIB
195	COVERT ACTION INFORMATION BULLETIN	INITIALS: CAIB

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196	COVERT ACTION/ NOW MAGAZINE	INITIALS: CA
197	CTR.FOR STUDY OF THE AMERICAS	INITIALS:
198	CUBA RESOURCE GROUP	INITIALS: RAZA
199	CUBAN INFORMATION PROJECT	INITIALS: COMM
200	DATA CENTER	INITIALS: DATA
201	DATA CENTER	INITIALS: DC
202	DELTA SIGMA BETA	INITIALS: PART
203	DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA	INITIALS: DSA
204	DEMOCRATIC WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: DWP
205	DENNIS BANKS DEFENSE COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PHIL
206	DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES	INITIALS: JEW
207	DIABLO VALLEY PEACE CENTER	INITIALS: PAX
208	DIRECT ACTION AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: DAAR
209	DIRECT ACTION AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: PAX
210	DOGHOUSE NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: LABOR
211	DOWNSIDE RECORDS	INITIALS: ARA
212	DYKES & GAY EMERGENCY RESPONSE	INITIALS: GAY
213	EARTH ISLAND INSTITUTE	INITIALS: EII
214	EAST BAY WOMEN FOR PEACE	INITIALS:
215	EL CENTRO DE LA RAZA	INITIALS: ECDR
216	EL CENTRO DE LA RAZA	INITIALS: NIC
217	EL TECOLATE	INITIALS: PAX
218	EL TECOLOTE	INITIALS:
219	EMER. COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS:
220	EMER. COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: COMM
221	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS:
222	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: AAI
223	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: ADC

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224	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: AFT61
225	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: NAJDA
226	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: PDWO
227	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: PSA
228	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: RFT
229	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: UPAN
230	EMERG.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS:
231	EMERG.COMMITT.TO END WAR IN MID.EAST	INITIALS: PAX
232	EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO END WAR	INITIALS:
233	EMERGENCY COMMITT.TO STOP FLAG AMEND	INITIALS:
234	EMERGENCY COMMITT.TO STOP WAR IN ME	INITIALS: PAX
235	ENDORSER OF PROP W.	INITIALS:
236	EVANGELICAL LUTHERN CHURCH OF SA	INITIALS: APART
237	EX.BOARD, NABET, LOCAL 51	INITIALS: LABOR
238	FAIRNESS & ACCURACY IN REPORTING	INITIALS: FAIR
239	FAIRNESS AND ACCURACY IN REPORTING	INITIALS:
240	FAIRNESS AND ACCURACY IN REPORTING	INITIALS: FAIR
241	FIGHTING BACK	INITIALS: FB
242	FILIPINO EAST BAY NETWORK	INITIALS: PHIL
243	FILIPINO ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PHIL
244	FMLN, FDR WEST COAST REPRESENTATIVE	INITIALS: FMLN
245	FOOD FIRST	INITIALS: FF
246	FOOD NOT BOMBS	INITIALS:
247	FOOD NOT BOMBS	INITIALS: DRUGS
248	FREE GERONIMO PRATT	INITIALS:
249	FREE MOSE HAYEKISO COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
250	FREE SOUTH AFRICA LABOR COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
251	FREEDOM FOR S.AFRICAN REFUGEE CAMP.	INITIALS: PFOC

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252	FREEDOM FOR S.AFRICAN REFUGEE CEN.	INITIALS: APART
253	FREEDOM RISING-AFRICA SOLID.COMMITT.	INITIALS: APART
254	FREEDOM ROAD SOCIALIST ORG.	INITIALS: COMM
255	FREEDOM SOCIALIST	INITIALS:
256	FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS:
257	FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS: APART
258	FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS: FSP
259	FRIENDS OF NICARAGUA	INITIALS: NICQ
260	FRIENDS OF YESH GVUL	INITIALS: JEW
261	FRONTLINE	INITIALS:
262	FRONTLINE	INITIALS: FL
263	GAY & LESBIAN LABOR ALLIANCE	INITIALS: GAY
264	GAY AMERICAN INDIANS	INITIALS: GAY
265	GEN.UNION OF PALESTINIAN STUDENTS	INITIALS: GUPS
266	GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN STUD.	INITIALS: GUPS
267	GLOBAL EXCHANGE	INITIALS: APART
268	GLOBAL EXCHANGE	INITIALS: COMM
269	GLOBAL OPTIONS	INITIALS: GO
270	GLOBAL OPTIONS/ CRIME SOCIAL JUST.	INITIALS: GO
271	GLOBEL EXCHANGE	INITIALS: PALE
272	GREEN GIANT FROZEN FOOD WORKERS COM	INITIALS: LABOR
273	GREENPEACE	INITIALS: PAX
274	GROUP FOR CRITICAL STUDY COLONIAL	INITIALS: APART
275	GUARDIAN	INITIALS: G
276	GUATEMALE NEWS AND INFO.BUREAU	INITIALS:
277	HARVEY MILK CLUB	INITIALS: GAY
278	HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES #2	INITIALS: LABOR
279	ILWU	INITIALS: CUBA

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280	ILWU LOCAL 10	INITIALS: LABOR
281	IN THESE TIMES	INITIALS: ITT
282	INCAR/ 1983	INITIALS: INCAR
283	INDEPENDENT GROCERS ASSN.	INITIALS: ARAB
284	INDEPENDENT GROCERS'S ASSOC.	INITIALS: IGA
285	INFORM.NETWORK AGAINST WAR/FASCISM	INITIALS: GAY
286	INFORMATION SERVICES ON LATIN AMER.	INITIALS: ISLA
287	INSTITUTO DEL PUEBLO	INITIALS:
288	INTER-HEMISPHERIC ED.RESOURCE CENT.	INITIALS: IERC
289	INTER. COMMITT. AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: INCAR
290	INTER.CAMPAIGN TO FREE GER.PRATT	INITIALS: PFOC
291	INTER.COMMITTEE AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: INCAR
292	INTER.COMMITTEE AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: INCAR
293	INTER.COMMITTEE AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: INCAR
294	INTERFAITH CENTER ON CORP.RESPON.	INITIALS: APART
295	INTERFAITH CENTER ON CORP.RESPONS.	INITIALS: APART
296	INTERFAITH COUNCIL ON CORP.ACCOUNT.	INITIALS: APART
297	INTERFAITH TASK FORCE ON CEN.AMER.	INITIALS: COMM
298	INTERNATIONAL COMMITT.AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: INCAR
299	INTERNATIONAL INDIAN TREATY COUNCIL	INITIALS:
300	INTERNATIONAL JEWISH PEACE UNION	INITIALS: JEW
301	INTERNATIONAL JEWISH PEACE UNION	INITIALS: PAX
302	INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGAN.	INITIALS: ISO
303	INTERNATIONALIST WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: IWP
304	IRISH NATIONAL AID	INITIALS: INA
305	IRISH NORTHERN AID	INITIALS: INA
306	IRISH NORTHERN AID COMMITTEE	INITIALS: INAC
307	IRISH REP. SOCIALIST COMMITT.	INITIALS: IRSC

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308	ISRAELI FOREIGN AFFAIRS	INITIALS:
309	ISRAELIS AGAINST OCCUPATION	INITIALS:
310	JAP.AMER. CITIZENS LEAGUE	INITIALS: JACL
311	JEWISH COMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST	INITIALS: JCOME
312	JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS: JDL
313	JEWS FOR JESUS	INITIALS: JEWS
314	JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMITTEE	INITIALS: JBAK
315	JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PFOC
316	JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMTT.	INITIALS: PFOC
317	KAHANE	INITIALS: JDL
318	KQED BOARD OF DIRECTORS	INITIALS: KQED
319	KUNA	INITIALS: N29
320	L.A. OBSERVER	INITIALS: COMME
321	LA COAL.AGAINST INTERVENTION IN ME	INITIALS: PAX
322	LA COAL.AGAINST US INTERVENTION ME	INITIALS: PAX
323	LA RAZA COALITION OF BERKELEY	INITIALS: RAZA
324	LA RAZA UNIDA	INITIALS: RAZA
325	LABOR COMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST	INITIALS:
326	LABOR FOR PEACE	INITIALS:
327	LABOR VIDEO	INITIALS:
328	LACAL	INITIALS: GAY
329	LATIN AMERICA SUPPORT COMMITTEE	INITIALS:
330	LAVENDAR MAFIA	INITIALS: GAY
331	LAWYERS COMT.ON CENTRAL AMERICA	INITIALS:
332	LEAGUE OF FILIPINO STUDENTS (US)	INITIALS: PHIL
333	LEONARD PALTERIA ALLIANCE GROUP	INITIALS: AIM
334	LESBIAN AGENDA FOR ACTION	INITIALS: GAY
335	LESBIANS & GAYS AGAINST INTERVENT.	INITIALS: LAGAI

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336	LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT	INITIALS: LSM
337	LIBROS SIN FRONTERAS	INITIALS:
338	LINE OF MARCH	INITIALS:
339	LOS ANGELES STUDENT COALITION	INITIALS: SWP
340	LYDON LAROCHE	INITIALS: ROUGH
341	MADRE	INITIALS:
342	MALCOLM X GRASS ROOTS MOVEMENT	INITIALS: X
343	MALCOLM X GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT	INITIALS:
344	MALCOLM X GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT	INITIALS: JBAK
345	MANDELA RECEPTION COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
346	MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT	INITIALS: MIM
347	MARAZUL TOURS	INITIALS: CUBA
348	MARIPOSA PEACE NETWORK	INITIALS: PAX
349	MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY	INITIALS: APART
350	MEDIA ALLIANCE	INITIALS: MA
351	MEDIA ALLIANCE	INITIALS: PAX
352	MEDIA REVIEW	INITIALS: MR
353	MIDDLE EAST CHILDREN'S ALLIANCE	INITIALS: PALE
354	MIDDLE EAST COMMTT.FOR NCBL	INITIALS: N29
355	MIDDLE EAST JUSTICE NETWORK	INITIALS: PALE
356	MIDDLE EAST LABOR BULLETIN	INITIALS: PALE
357	MIDDLE EAST PEACE NETWORK	INITIALS:
358	MIDWEST LABOR INSTITUTE	INITIALS: APART
359	MILLS COLLEGE	INITIALS: APART
360	MOBILIZATION SUPPORT GROUP	INITIALS:
361	MODERN TIMES COLLECTIVE	INITIALS: GAY
362	MOTHER JONES	INITIALS:
363	MOTHER JONES	INITIALS: PAX

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364	MOVIMIENTO DE AGRUPACION POPULAR	INITIALS: LABOR
365	MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL CHICANO...	INITIALS: MECA
366	N.AMER.CHAP.INTER/LEAGUE RIGHTS	INITIALS:
367	N.CALIF.ECUMENICAL COUNCIL	INITIALS:
368	NALC,LOCAL 214	INITIALS: LABOR
369	NATIONAL MIDWEEK	INITIALS: NM
370	NATION OF ISLAM	INITIALS: ISLAM
371	NATIONAL CALL TO ACTION	INITIALS: NCA
372	NATIONAL CONF.OF BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS:
373	NATIONAL CONF.OF BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: NCBL
374	NATIONAL FORUM OF SOUTH AFRICA	INITIALS: APART
375	NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMM.	INITIALS: CAIB
376	NATIONAL LAWYER'S GUILD	INITIALS: NLG
377	NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD	INITIALS:
378	NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD	INITIALS: APART
379	NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD	INITIALS: DRUGS
380	NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD	INITIALS: NLG
381	NATIONAL NAMIBIA CONCERNS	INITIALS: APART
382	NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION	INITIALS: LABOR
383	NATIONAL RESPONSE COMMTT/NBAU	INITIALS: NBAU
384	NATIONAL STUDENT LOBBY	INITIALS:
385	NATIONAL UNION OF FARMERS N RANCH.	INITIALS: UNAG
386	NATIONAL YOUTH SUMMIT	INITIALS: ISLAM
387	NATWJ -CHAIRMAN	INITIALS: N29
388	NATWJ-EDITOR NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: N29
389	NETWORK OF ARAB/AMERICAN STUDENTS	INITIALS: NAAS
390	NETWORK SOLIDARITY WITH CHILE	INITIALS: CHILE
391	NETWORK SOLIDARITY WITH CHILE	INITIALS: NSWG

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392	NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: NAPO
393	NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLES ORGAN.	INITIALS: NAPO
394	NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLES ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: PFOC
395	NEW ALLIANCE NEWSPAPER	INITIALS: NAP
396	NEW ALLIANCE PARTY	INITIALS: NAP
397	NEW AMERICAS PRESS	INITIALS:
398	NEW JEWISH AGENDA	INITIALS: JEW
399	NEW JEWISH AGENDA	INITIALS: NJA
400	NEW MOVE. IN SOLID.WITH P.R. INDEP.	INITIALS: P.R.
401	NEW MOVEMENT IN SOLID.WITH PUERTO R	INITIALS: NMSPR
402	NICARAGUA CULTURAL CENTER	INITIALS: NICAR
403	NICARAGUA INFO. CENTER	INITIALS: NIC
404	NICARAGUA INFORMATION CENTER	INITIALS: NIC
405	NICARAGUA INTERFAITH COMMTT.ACTION	INITIALS: NICA
406	NICARAGUA NETWORK NEWS	INITIALS: NIC
407	NICARAGUAN INFO.CENTER BULLETIN	INITIALS: NIC
408	NO APOLOGIES/ NO REGRETS	INITIALS: GAY
409	NO BUSINESS AS USUAL	INITIALS: GAY
410	NO BUSINESS AS USUAL	INITIALS: NBAU
411	NO JUSTICE, NO PEACE	INITIALS:
412	NORTH BAY ANTI-RACIST ACTION	INITIALS: ARA
413	NORTH STAR	INITIALS: STAR
414	NOVEMBER 29 COALITION	INITIALS: N29
415	NOVEMBER 29 COMMITTEE	INITIALS: N29
416	NOVEMBER 29TH COMMITTEE	INITIALS: N29
417	NOVEMBER 8TH COMMITTEE	INITIALS:
418	NT. ASSOC. OF ARAB AMERICANS	INITIALS: NAAA
419	NT. CONF. OF BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: N29

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420	NT. CONFERENCE OF BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: APART
421	NT.ALLIANCE THIRD WORLD JOURNALISTS	INITIALS: N29
422	NT.ASSOC. FOR ADVANCEMENT OF CP	INITIALS: BLACK
423	NT.ASSOC. OF ARAB AMERICANS	INITIALS: NAAA
424	NT.COAL.BLACK LESBIANS AND GAYS	INITIALS: APART
425	NT.COMT.AGAINST REPRESSIVE LEGISL.	INITIALS:
426	NT.CONFERENCE OF BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: DRUGS
427	NT.ORGAN.OF AFRICAN STUDENTS N AMER	INITIALS: ISLAM
428	NT.STUDENT CEN.AMER.ACTION NETWORK	INITIALS:
429	NUREMBERG ACTIONS	INITIALS:
430	NUREMBERG ACTION	INITIALS: NA
431	NUREMBERG ACTIONS	INITIALS:
432	O.C.COAL.FOR PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST	INITIALS: PAX
433	OAKLAND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: LABOR
434	OCAW	INITIALS: LABOR
435	OCAW,LOCAL 8149	INITIALS: LABOR
436	OCTOBER 6 JUSTICE PROJECT	INITIALS:
437	OREGON PHILIPPINES CONCERNS COMMTT.	INITIALS: PHIL
438	OUT OF CONTROL COMMITTEE	INITIALS:
439	OUT OF CONTROL COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PFOC
440	OUTRAGE	INITIALS: GAY
441	PACIFICA FOUNDATION	INITIALS:
442	PAKISTAN DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PAK
443	PAKISTAN DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PDC
444	PALESTINE ARAB FUND	INITIALS: PALE
445	PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COM. MEETING	INITIALS: N29
446	PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PSC
447	PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PALE

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448	PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PSC
449	PALESTINIAN ACADEMIC FREEDOM NETWORK	INITIALS: PALE
450	PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS	INITIALS: PAC
451	PAN AFRICAN MOVEMENT OF THE U.S.	INITIALS: ISLAM
452	PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS	INITIALS: APART
453	PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA	INITIALS: APART
454	PARTIDO SOCIALISTA CHILENO	INITIALS: CHILE
455	PARTIDO SOCIALISTA PUERTORRIQUENO	INITIALS: PSP
456	PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PDC
457	PATRICE LUMUMBA COALITION	INITIALS:
458	PAUL ROBESON FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY	INITIALS:
459	PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES	INITIALS:
460	PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY	INITIALS: PFP
461	PEACE AND JUSTICE COMMTT.SCH.BOARD	INITIALS: CAFIO
462	PEACE AND SOLIDARITY ALLIANCE	INITIALS: PSA
463	PEACE AND SOLIDARITY COMMTT.	INITIALS: PASC
464	PEACE CAFE	INITIALS:
465	PEACE RESEARCH CENTER	INITIALS: CAIB
466	PEOPLE AGAINST RACIST TERROR	INITIALS: PART
467	PEOPLE'S ANTI-WAR MOBILIZATION	INITIALS: PAWM
468	PEOPLE'S PARK	INITIALS:
469	PEOPLE'S WEEKLY WORLD	INITIALS: COMM
470	PEOPLES ANTI-WAR MOBILIZATION	INITIALS: PAM
471	PEOPLES ARCHITECTURE COLLECTIVE	INITIALS:
472	PEOPLES LAW OFFICE	INITIALS: P.R.
473	PEOPLES VIDEO	INITIALS: COC
474	PEOPLES WORLD	INITIALS: CAIB
475	PEOPLES WORLD	INITIALS: COMM

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476	PERSHING PLOWSHARES	INITIALS: PP
477	PHILIPPINE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PHIL
478	PHILIPPINE RESOURCE CENTER	INITIALS: PHIL
479	PHILIPPINES HUMAN RIGHTS LOBBY	INITIALS:
480	PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE	INITIALS:
481	PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE	INITIALS:
482	PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE	INITIALS: PAX
483	PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE	INITIALS: POR
484	PLUMBERS & FITTERS LOCAL 393	INITIALS: LABOR
485	PORTLAND CEN.AMER.SOLIDARITY COMMTT	INITIALS: NICA
486	PORTLAND CENT.AMER.SOLIDARTY COMMTT	INITIALS: PCASC
487	PORTLAND LABOR COMT.ON CEN. AMER.	INITIALS: PALCC
488	PRAIRE FIRE ORGANIZING COMT.,LIT.	INITIALS: PFOC
489	PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PFOC
490	PRARIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMTT.	INITIALS: PFOC
491	PRES./ILWU LOCAL 6	INITIALS:
492	PRESIDENT, KPOO RADIO	INITIALS: LABOR
493	PRISON NEWS SERVICE	INITIALS: PART
494	PROGRESSIVE MUSLIM ALLIANCE	INITIALS:
495	PROJECT IMPACT	INITIALS: ISLAM
496	PROJECT NATIONAL INTEREST	INITIALS: COMM
497	PROPONENT OF MEASURE J	INITIALS:
498	PUBLIC EYE	INITIALS: PE
499	PUERTO RICO SOCIALISTA PARTY	INITIALS: PRSP
500	QUEER NATION	INITIALS: GAY
501	QUINN DEFENSE	INITIALS: IRISH
502	RADICAL FILM COLLECTIVE	INITIALS: CUBA
503	RADICAL WOMEN	INITIALS: FSP

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504	RADICAL WOMEN	INITIALS: GAY
505	RADICAL WOMEN	INITIALS: RW
506	RAINBOW COALITION	INITIALS:
507	RAINBOW LOBBY	INITIALS: NAP
508	REFUSE AND RESIST	INITIALS:
509	REFUSE AND RESIST	INITIALS: PAX
510	REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA	INITIALS: PFOC
511	REVOLUTIONARY BOOKS	INITIALS: RCP
512	REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY	INITIALS: COMM
513	REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY	INITIALS: RCP
514	REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH BRIG.	INITIALS: RCP
515	REVOLUTIONARY WORKER	INITIALS: COMM
516	REVOLUTIONARY WORKER	INITIALS: DRUGS
517	REVOLUTIONARY WORKER	INITIALS: RCP
518	REVOLUTIONARY WORKER NEWSPAPER	INITIALS: DRUGS
519	REVOLUTIONARY WORKER'S LEAGUE	INITIALS: ARA
520	REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE	INITIALS: RWL
521	RICHMOND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: LABOR
522	ROOTS AGAINST WAR	INITIALS: PAX
523	ROOTS AGAINST WAR	INITIALS: RAW
524	S.A.FREEDOM THROUGH EDUCATION FOUND	INITIALS: APART
525	S.F. ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
526	S.F.ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
527	S.F.UNIVERSITY LABOR STUDIES	INITIALS: LABOR
528	SACRED HOUSE OF ISLAM	INITIALS: ISLAM
529	SAN FERNANDO VALLEY PEACE COALITION	INITIALS: PAX
530	SAN FRANCISCO ANTI-APARTHEID COMT.	INITIALS: ANC
531	SAN FRANCISCO BAY GUARDIAN	INITIALS: GUARD

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532	SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL/AFL-CIO	INITIALS: LABOR
533	SAN FRANCISCO SENTINEL	INITIALS: GAY
534	SAN FRANCISCO WEEKLY	INITIALS: GAY
535	SAN FRANCISCO WOMEN FOR PEACE	INITIALS:
536	SANE/FREEZE	INITIALS:
537	SARDARABA	INITIALS: AMP
538	SCIENCE FOR NICARAGUA	INITIALS: NICA
539	SEEDS OF PEACE	INITIALS: PAX
540	SEIU LOCAL 535	INITIALS: APART
541	SEIU LOCAL 616	INITIALS: CUBA
542	SERBIAN UNITY CONGRESS	INITIALS: SERB
543	SF COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN	INITIALS: LABOR
544	SHARPSKIN	INITIALS: SHARP
545	SHELL BOYCOTT COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
546	SIMON WISENTHAL CENTER	INITIALS: JEW
547	SISTER CITY ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: NICA
548	SOCIALIST ACTION	INITIALS: SA
549	SOCIALIST ACTION	INITIALS: SC
550	SOCIALIST PARTY POLITICAL ORGAN.	INITIALS: SRAF
551	SOCIALIST REVIEW	INITIALS:
552	SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS:
553	SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: APART
554	SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: SWP
555	SOCIETY OF IN'ASH EL-USA	INITIALS: N29
556	SOHRI STUDY GROUP (UC BERKELEY)	INITIALS: KOREA
557	SOUTH AFRICA FORUM	INITIALS: ANC
558	SOUTH AFRICA FORUM	INITIALS: APART
559	SOUTH AFRICA'S WORKERS ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: APART

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560	SOUTH AFRICAN INTER.STUDENT CONGRES	INITIALS: SAISC
561	SOUTH BAY NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY COM.	INITIALS: NICAR
562	SOUTHERN AFRICA LIB.SUPPORT COMMTT.	INITIALS: APART
563	SOUTHERN AFRICAN MEDIA CENTER	INITIALS: APART
564	SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE	INITIALS: SYL
565	SPARTICIST LEAGUE	INITIALS: PDC
566	STEVENS,HINDS AND WHITE ATTORNIES	INITIALS: N29
567	STOP THE US WAR MACHINE ACTION NET.	INITIALS: PAX
568	STUDENT COAL.AGAINST APART.AND RAC.	INITIALS: SCAR
569	STUDENT PUGWASH	INITIALS: NICA
570	STUDENTS AGAINST INTERVENTION	INITIALS: NICA
571	STUDENTS AGAINST INTERVENTION CA	INITIALS:
572	STUDENTS AGAINST INTERVENTION CA	INITIALS: ELSAV
573	STUDENTS AGAINST INTERVENTIONS CA	INITIALS: ELDAV
574	STUDENTS AGAINST INTERVENTIONS CA	INITIALS: ELSAV
575	STUDENTS FOR PEACE IN PERSIAN GULF	INITIALS:
576	STUDENTS FOR PEACE IN PERSIAN GULF	INITIALS: PAX
577	STUDENTS FOR PEACE IN THE PER.GULF	INITIALS: SPPG
578	SWAPO	INITIALS: APART
579	SWAPO MEETING	INITIALS: APART
580	SWAPO MEETING	INITIALS: SWAPO
581	TASS NEWS AGENCY	INITIALS: N29
582	TEAMSTERS LOCAL 921, SF. TDU	INITIALS: LABOR
583	TECHNICA	INITIALS: APART
584	TECHNICA	INITIALS: NICA
585	TECHNICA	INITIALS: TECH
586	TECHNICA BOARD OF DIRECTORS	INITIALS: TECH
587	THE BLACK SCHOLAR	INITIALS: BLACK

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588	THE CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY MON.	INITIALS: DC
589	THE DAZEN-I FOUNDATION	INITIALS: N29
590	THE IRISHMAN	INITIALS: IRISH
591	THE NUCLEAR RESISTER	INITIALS:
592	THE OCTOBER 6 JUSTICE PROJECT	INITIALS: GAY
593	THIRD WORLD FUND	INITIALS: APART
594	THIRD WORLD RESOURCES/ DATA CENTER	INITIALS: DC
595	TORONTO ANTI-INTERVENTIONAL COAL.	INITIALS: SC
596	TRUSTEE, IAM LOCAL 565 (SUNNYVALE)	INITIALS: LABOR
597	U.S. ANTI-APARTHEID NEWSLETTER	INITIALS:
598	U.S. CHINA REVIEW	INITIALS:
599	U.S. OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA NETWORK	INITIALS: APART
600	U.S. PEACE COUNCIL	INITIALS: COMM
601	U.S.-CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOC.	INITIALS: COMM
602	U.S.-GRENADA FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY	INITIALS: COMM
603	U.S.COMT.FOR FRIENDSHIP W/GDR	INITIALS:
604	U.S.PEACE COUNCIL	INITIALS: CAIB
605	UAW	INITIALS: LABOR
606	UAW LOCAL 119/MEMBER NEW DIRECTIONS	INITIALS: LABOR
607	UBIQUITOUS	INITIALS: GAY
608	UC BERKELEY	INITIALS: PAX
609	UNIFIED AGAINST GENOCIDE	INITIALS: COMM
610	UNION DEL BARRIO	INITIALS:
611	UNION DEL BARRIO	INITIALS: APSC
612	UNION OF DEMOCRATIC PHILIPPINOS	INITIALS: KDP
613	UNION PUBLICATIONS	INITIALS: UP
614	UNITED COLORS	INITIALS: GAY
615	UNITED FARM WORKERS	INITIALS: UFW

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616	UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM	INITIALS: UFAF
617	US-CUBA LABOR EXCHANGE	INITIALS: LABOR
618	US-USSR FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY OF S.F.	INITIALS: COMM
619	USA MOVEMENT BANNING APARTHEID	INITIALS: APART
620	UTU LOCAL 1730	INITIALS: LABOR
621	VANGUARD FOUNDATION	INITIALS: VAND
622	VANGUARD PUBLIC FOUNDATION	INITIALS: VPD
623	VENCEREMOS BRIGADE	INITIALS: COMM
624	VENCEREMOS BRIGADE	INITIALS: CUBA
625	VENCEREMOS BRIGADE	INITIALS: GAY
626	VIET-NAM VETERANS ACTION	INITIALS: VA
627	VIETNAME NEWS AGENCY	INITIALS: N29
628	VILLA ZAPATA WORKERS COMMITTEE	INITIALS:
629	VOICE OF THE UPRISING	INITIALS: PALE
630	WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA	INITIALS: APART
631	WBAI (PACIFICA FOUNDATION) NYC	INITIALS: WBAI
632	WEATHERMAN UNDERGROUND	INITIALS: PFOC
633	WITNESS FOR SOUTH AFRICA	INITIALS: APART
634	WOMAN, INC.	INITIALS: NAP
635	WOMEN AGAINST U.S.INTERVENTION	INITIALS:
636	WOMEN AGAINST U.S.INTERVENTION	INITIALS: PFOC
637	WOMEN IN BLACK	INITIALS: JEW
638	WOMEN OF COLOR COALITION CENTER	INITIALS: WCCC
639	WOMEN OF COLOR RESOURCE PROJECT	INITIALS:
640	WOMEN'S INT'L LEAGUE PEACE/FREEDOM	INITIALS: WILPF
641	WOMEN'S INTER.LEAGUE PEACE N FREE.	INITIALS: WILPF
642	WORKERS WORLD PARTY	INITIALS: WWP
643	WORKERS' WORLD PARTY	INITIALS: WWP

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644	YES ON W COMMITTEE	INITIALS: ARAB
645	YOUNG KOREANS UNITED	INITIALS:
646	YOUNG KOREANS UNITED OF S.F.	INITIALS: KOREA
647	YOUNG-SOCIALIST ALLIANCE	INITIALS: YSA

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1		INITIALS: ADL
2		INITIALS: ARYAN
3		INITIALS: DUKE
4		INITIALS: GANG
5		INITIALS: IDENT
6		INITIALS: KKK
7		INITIALS: KKKK
8		INITIALS: NAZI
9		INITIALS: NAZIS
10		INITIALS: PAIN
11		INITIALS: PALE
12		INITIALS: POP
13		INITIALS: REVIS
14		INITIALS: SHARP
15		INITIALS: SKIN
16		INITIALS: SKINS
17		INITIALS: TAX
18		INITIALS: WAR
19	ADOLPH HITLER CHURCH	INITIALS: NAZI
20	AID & ABET	INITIALS:
21	AID AND ABET	INITIALS:
22	AID AND ABET	INITIALS: ABET
23	ALARMING CRY (LETTER TO EDITOR)	INITIALS: CSL
24	ALARUM	INITIALS: NAZI
25	ALERT	INITIALS: IDENT
26	AMER. PISTOL AND RIFLE ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: GUNS
27	AMER. 'S PROMISE MINISTRIES	INITIALS: IDENT

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28	AMER.IMMIGRATION CONTROL FOUND.	INITIALS: AICF
29	AMERICA'S DESTINY/NT.VIDEO NETWORK	INITIALS: IDENT
30	AMERICA'S PROMISE	INITIALS: IDENT
31	AMERICAN AGRICULTURE MOVEMENT	INITIALS: AGM
32	AMERICAN CHALLENGE	INITIALS: RW11
33	AMERICAN CHRISTIAN MINISTRY	INITIALS: IDENT
34	AMERICAN FIRM	INITIALS: SKINS
35	AMERICAN FRONT	INITIALS: IDENT
36	AMERICAN FRONT	INITIALS: SKIN
37	AMERICAN FRONT	INITIALS: SKINS
38	AMERICAN FRONT VIKINGS	INITIALS: SKINS
39	AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY	INITIALS: AIP
40	AMERICAN LIBERTY ASSOC.	INITIALS: NE
41	AMERICAN MERCURY	INITIALS: AM
42	AMERICAN NATIONAL FRONT	INITIALS: ANF
43	AMERICAN NATIONAL FRONT	INITIALS: KKK
44	AMERICAN NAZI PARTY	INITIALS: NAZI
45	AMERICAN NAZI PARTY (NSWWP)	INITIALS: NAZI
46	AMERICAN NAZI PARTY/MALIK	INITIALS: NAZI
47	AMERICAN PISTOL AND RIFLE ASSOC.	INITIALS:
48	AMERICAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: KKK
49	AMERICAN SPRING	INITIALS:
50	AMERICAN SPRING	INITIALS: POP
51	AMERICAN WHITE SEPARATIST	INITIALS: SKINS
52	AMERICAN WHITE SEPARATISTS	INITIALS: SKINS
53	AMERICAN WHITE SEPERATISTS	INITIALS: SKINS
54	AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: NAZI
55	AMERICAN-AFRIKANER UNION	INITIALS: APART

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56	AMERICANS FOR CONST. JUSTICE, INC.	INITIALS:
57	AMERICANS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY	INITIALS: LL
58	ANSWER	INITIALS: SKINS
59	ANTI-ABORTIONIST	INITIALS: ABORT
60	ANTI-CATHOLIC LEAGUE	INITIALS:
61	ANTI-RACIST ACTION	INITIALS: ARA
62	ANTI-WIESEL LETTER	INITIALS:
63	APPLIED RESEARCH	INITIALS: IDENT
64	ARIZONA HAMMERSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
65	ARIZONA KINDRED	INITIALS: ODIN
66	ARIZONA PATRIOTS	INITIALS:
67	ARIZONA PATRIOTS	INITIALS: AP
68	ARIZONA PATRIOTS	INITIALS: ARIZ
69	ARIZONA WHITE BATALLION	INITIALS: SKINS
70	ARIZONA WHITE BATTALION	INITIALS: SKINS
71	ARIZONA WHITE BATTALION SKINHEADS	INITIALS: SKINS
72	ARYAN AWAKE	INITIALS: SKINS
73	ARYAN BROTHERHOOD	INITIALS: ARYAN
74	ARYAN BROTHERHOOD	INITIALS: SKINS
75	ARYAN CHRISTIAN KNIGHTS	INITIALS: KKK
76	ARYAN IDENTITY	INITIALS: SKINS
77	ARYAN NATIONALIST CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
78	ARYAN NATIONS	INITIALS:
79	ARYAN NATIONS	INITIALS: AN
80	ARYAN NATIONS	INITIALS: ARYAN
81	ARYAN NATIONS	INITIALS: KKK
82	ARYAN NATIONS	INITIALS: SKINS
83	ARYAN NATIONS BROTHERHOOD	INITIALS: ARYAN

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84	ARYAN NATIONS LIBERTY NET	INITIALS: ANLN
85	ARYAN NATIONS LIBERTY NET	INITIALS: ANYAN
86	ARYAN NATIONS LIBERTY NET	INITIALS: ARYAN
87	ARYAN NATIONS REPORT	INITIALS: ARYAN
88	ARYAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT	INITIALS: ARM
89	ARYAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT	INITIALS: SKINS
90	ARYAN SOCIALIST YOUTH PARTY	INITIALS: SKINS
91	ARYAN TERRITORIAL ALLIANCE	INITIALS: IDENT
92	ARYAN UPDATE	INITIALS: WAR
93	ARYAN WOLFPACK	INITIALS: SKINS
94	ARYAN WOMAN'S LEAGUE	INITIALS: SKINS
95	ARYAN WOMANS LEAGUE	INITIALS: SKINS
96	ARYAN WOMEN UNITED	INITIALS: SKINS
97	ARYAN WOMEN'S LEAGUE	INITIALS: SKINS
98	ARYAN WORKERS LEAGUE	INITIALS: POP
99	ARYAN YOUTH FORCE	INITIALS: SKINS
100	ARYAN YOUTH MOVEMENT	INITIALS: SKINS
101	ASSEMBLIES OF THE CALLED OUT ONES	INITIALS: IDENT
102	ASSEMBLY OF YAHOWAH THE ETERNAL	INITIALS: WSU
103	ASSEMBLY OF YAHWEH	INITIALS: IDENT
104	ASSOCIATES FOR THE CHRISTIAN LIFE	INITIALS:
105	AUBURN SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
106	AYRAN FEDERATION	INITIALS: PACE
107	BASIC BIBLE CHURCH OF AMERICA	INITIALS: IDENT
108	BAY AREA PATRIOTS (JUSTICE TIMES)	INITIALS: BAP
109	BEAVERTON BOOT BOYS	INITIALS: SKINS
110	BIBLE BELIEVER'S FELLOWSHIP	INITIALS: IDENT
111	BIBLE EDUCATOR MINISTRY	INITIALS: IDENT

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112	BIBLE STUDY GROUP	INITIALS: IDENT
113	BIBLE TRUTH RESEARCH	INITIALS: IDENT
114	BLUE SIX SKINHEADS	INITIALS: SKINS
115	BO GRITZ FOR PRESIDENT	INITIALS: POP
116	BOER FREEDOM MOVEMENT	INITIALS: APART
117	BOERSTAAT PARTY	INITIALS: APART
118	BOMBER BOYS	INITIALS: SKINS
119	BRAXAS FOUNDATION	INITIALS: DEVIL
120	BUFFALO AREA SKINHEADS	INITIALS: SKINS
121	BURBANK PUNK ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: SKINS
122	CALIF. HEALTH CARE ADVOCATES	INITIALS:
123	CALIFORNIA WHITE VIKINGS	INITIALS: SKINS
124	CALVARY TEMPLE BIBLE CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
125	CANADIAN ALLIANCE	INITIALS:
126	CANADIAN KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKK
127	CASH/ ROMANTIC VIOLENCE	INITIALS: SKINS
128	CBA BULLETIN	INITIALS: TAX
129	CENTER FOR NATIONALISTS STUDIES	INITIALS:
130	CENTER FOR STUDY	INITIALS:
131	CHALCEDON REPORT	INITIALS: IDENT
132	CHICAGO WHITE VIKINGS	INITIALS: SKINS
133	CHRIST'S COVENANT CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
134	CHRIST'S COVENANT PEOPLE	INITIALS: IDENT
135	CHRIST'S IDENTITY CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
136	CHRIST. LEGAL EDUCATION ASSOC.	INITIALS: IDENT
137	CHRISTIAN AMERICAN ADVOCATES	INITIALS: IDENT
138	CHRISTIAN AMERICAN RESEARCH LEAGUE	INITIALS:
139	CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNIST PARTY	INITIALS: IDENT

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140	CHRISTIAN ARYAN PATRIOTS	INITIALS: IDENT
141	CHRISTIAN BOOKSTORE	INITIALS: IDENT
142	CHRISTIAN COMMITTEE TO TEACH BIBLE LAW	INITIALS: IDENT
143	CHRISTIAN CONSERV. CHURCHES OF AMER.	INITIALS: IDENT
144	CHRISTIAN CONSULTING COMPANY	INITIALS: CCC
145	CHRISTIAN CRUSADE FOR TRUTH	INITIALS: IDENT
146	CHRISTIAN DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS:
147	CHRISTIAN EDUCATOR	INITIALS:
148	CHRISTIAN FORUM NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: IDENT
149	CHRISTIAN GUARD	INITIALS: ARYAN
150	CHRISTIAN HERITAGE	INITIALS: IDENT
151	CHRISTIAN HERITAGE CONFERENCE	INITIALS: IDENT
152	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
153	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY SKINHEAD	INITIALS: SKINS
154	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY SKINHEADS	INITIALS: SKINS
155	CHRISTIAN ISRAEL COVENANT CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
156	CHRISTIAN ISRAEL FELLOWSHIP	INITIALS: IDENT
157	CHRISTIAN LAW JOURNAL	INITIALS: IDENT
158	CHRISTIAN OUTREACH LIBRARY	INITIALS: IDENT
159	CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS: CPDL
160	CHRISTIAN PATRIOT CRUSADER	INITIALS: IDENT
161	CHRISTIAN PATRIOT DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS: CPDL
162	CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS DEFENSE FUND	INITIALS: ARYAN
163	CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS: CPDL
164	CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS GOD/COUNTRY BOOK	INITIALS: POP
165	CHRISTIAN RESEARCH	INITIALS: IHR
166	CHRISTIAN SONS OF LIBERTY	INITIALS:
167	CHRISTIAN SONS OF LIBERTY	INITIALS: SP

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168	CHRISTIAN TASK FORCE	INITIALS: PACE
169	CHRISTIAN WORKSHOP OF FREELANCE IS.	INITIALS: IDENT
170	CHRISTIANS FOR TRUTH/REL. FREEDOMS	INITIALS: IDENT
171	CHRISTIANS ON POINT NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: IDENT
172	CHRISTMAS STAR CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
173	CHURCH OF ELIJAH	INITIALS: IDENT
174	CHURCH OF ISRAEL	INITIALS: IDENT
175	CHURCH OF ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS	INITIALS: IDENT
176	CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST	INITIALS: IDENT
177	CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST AT PHILA.	INITIALS: IDENT
178	CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST CHRISTIAN	INITIALS: IDENT
179	CHURCH OF THE COVENANT, SWORD & ARM	INITIALS: IDENT
180	CHURCH OF THE CREATOR	INITIALS: COTC
181	CHURCH OF THE CREATOR	INITIALS: SKINS
182	CHURCH OF THE SWASTIKA	INITIALS: NAZI
183	CHURCH OF THE SWASTIKA	INITIALS: SKINS
184	CHURCH OF WAR	INITIALS:
185	CHURCH OF WAR	INITIALS: WAR
186	CHURCH OF WHITE SEPARATION	INITIALS: IDENT
187	CIRCLE BIBLE STUDY	INITIALS: IDENT
188	CITIZEN'S COUNCIL	INITIALS: NAZI
189	CITIZENS BAR ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: TAX
190	CITIZENS CLAW	INITIALS:
191	CITIZENS COUNCIL	INITIALS: NAZI
192	CITIZENS FOR FRAUD-FREE ELECTIONS	INITIALS: SP
193	CITIZENS FOR GOD AND COUNTRY	INITIALS: WSU
194	CLAREMONT INSTITUTE	INITIALS:
195	CLUB OF LIFE	INITIALS: LAROU

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196	CODOH	INITIALS: REVIS
197	COLORADO KINDRED	INITIALS: ODIN
198	COMMITTEE FOR AMERICAN /1960'S	INITIALS: CFA
199	COMMITTEE OF TEN MILLION	INITIALS: CTH
200	COMMITTEE TO CLEAN UP THE COURTS	INITIALS: POP
201	COMMITTEE TO DEBATE THE HOLOCAUST	INITIALS: REVIS
202	COMMON TITLE BOND AND TRUST	INITIALS: CTBT
203	COMMITT. REEXAMINE WW11	INITIALS: REVIS
204	COMMITT. TO RESTORE THE CONSTITUTION	INITIALS:
205	CONFEDERATE HAMMER SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
206	CONFEDERATE KNIGHTS OF AMERICA	INITIALS: KKK
207	CONFEDERATE KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKKK
208	COVENANT CHURCH OF OUR REDEEMER	INITIALS: IDENT
209	COVENANT MINISTRIES	INITIALS: IDENT
210	COVENANT OF CHRIST CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
211	COVENANT PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE	INITIALS: IDENT
212	CRIMINAL POLITICS	INITIALS: IDENT
213	CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY USA	INITIALS: POP
214	CRUSADE AGAINST CORRUPTION	INITIALS: PACE
215	DAVID DUKE	INITIALS: DUKE
216	DEFENDER OF THE AMER. CONSTIT./54	INITIALS: DAC
217	DESERT FOX ENTERPRISES	INITIALS: NAZI
218	DESTINY PUBLISHERS	INITIALS: IDENT
219	EAST SIDE BOOT BOYS	INITIALS: SKINS
220	EAST SIDE MAFIA	INITIALS: SKINS
221	EAST SIDE WHITE PRIDE	INITIALS: SKINS
222	EDITORIAL RESEARCH SERVICE	INITIALS: REVIS
223	ELECTRO-MAGNETIC RESEARCH CENTER	INITIALS: IDENT

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224	ELOCHIM CITY	INITIALS:
225	EURO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE	INITIALS: REVIS
226	EXECUTIVE INTELLIGENCE REVIEW	INITIALS: LAROU
227	FAITH SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
228	FAITHSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
229	FIRST COVENANT CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
230	FOCUS	INITIALS: IHR
231	FORCE 751	INITIALS: COS
232	FOUNDATION FOR AMER. CHRISTIAN ED.	INITIALS: IDENT
233	FRATERNAL WHITE KNIGHTS	INITIALS: KKK
234	FRATERNAL WHITE KNIGHTS	INITIALS: KKKK
235	FRATERNITY OF PREPARATION	INITIALS: FOP
236	FREE GERMAN WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: NAZI
237	FREEDOM THROUGH TRUTH FOUNDATION	INITIALS: POP
238	GHOSTRIDER	INITIALS:
239	GLX SMITH DONER /1959	INITIALS: GLX
240	GODS PLAN FOR GOOD HEALTH NEWSLETTR	INITIALS: IDENT
241	GOSPEL FOUNDATION	INITIALS: IDENT
242	GOSPEL OF CHRIST KINGDOM CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
243	GOSPEL OF THE KINGDOM MISSION	INITIALS: IDENT
244	GRAND DRAGON INDIANA, KNIGHTS KKK	INITIALS: KKK
245	GRESHAM ARYAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: SKINS
246	GUN OWNERS ACTION COMMITTEE	INITIALS: GUNS
247	H.U.G. LIBERTY	INITIALS: IDENT
248	HAMMER SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
249	HAMMERHEAD/ YOUNG BLOOD	INITIALS: SKINS
250	HAMMERSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
251	HEARTLAND WAR DIRECTOR	INITIALS: WAR

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252	HEIRS OF THE BLESSING	INITIALS: IDENT
253	HEPZIBAH RANCH	INITIALS: IDENT
254	HERITAGE FRONT	INITIALS: REVIS
255	HERITAGE LIBRARY	INITIALS: HL
256	HOSKINS REPORT	INITIALS: ARYAN
257	IDENTITY	INITIALS: IDENT
258	IDENTITY BAPTIST	INITIALS: IDENT
258	IDENTITY CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
258	IDENTITY STUDY GROUP	INITIALS: IDENT
261	IDENTITY/KINGDOM MESSENGER	INITIALS: IDENT
262	IMPERIAL ORDER OF THE BLACK EAGLE	INITIALS: ARYAN
263	INSTITUTE AMERICAN RESEARCH	INITIALS: IDENT
264	INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW	INITIALS: IHR
265	INSTITUTE OF HISTORIAL REVIEW	INITIALS: REVIS
266	INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL REVIEW	INITIALS: IHR
267	INTER. RESEARCH INSTITUTE/ JBS	INITIALS: JBS
268	INTER.CONSPIRATOLOGICAL ASSOC.	INITIALS: WSU
269	INTERNATIONAL MOD MONTHLY	INITIALS: NAZI
270	INTERNATIONAL MONEYLINE	INITIALS: IM
271	INVIS.EMPIRE KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKK
272	INVIS.EMPIRE, KKKK	INITIALS: KKK
272	INVIS.EMPIRE,KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKK
272	INVISIBLE EMPIRE KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKK
275	INVISIBLE EMPIRE, KKK	INITIALS: KKK
276	INVISIBLE EMPIRE, KKKK	INITIALS: KKK
277	INVISIBLE EMPIRE, KNIGHTS OF KKK	INITIALS: KKK
278	INVISIBLE EMPIRE,KKK	INITIALS: KKK
279	INVISIBLE EMPIRE,KNIGHTS OF KKK	INITIALS: KKK

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280	IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY	INITIALS: IRA
281	IRVINE VALUES COALITION	INITIALS:
282	ISRAEL IDENTITY FELLOWSHIP	INITIALS: IDENT
283	JACKIE'S JUNCTION	INITIALS:
284	JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS: JDL
285	JEWISH DEFENSE ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: JDO
286	JEWISH DEFENSE ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: JEWS
287	JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY	INITIALS: JBS
288	JOPPA GOSPEL TABERNACLE	INITIALS: IDENT
289	JOPPA TABERNACLE MINISTRY	INITIALS: IDENT
290	JUSTICE TIMES	INITIALS:
291	JUSTICE TIMES	INITIALS: TAX
292	KINGDOM BIBLE INSTITUTE	INITIALS: IDENT
293	KINGDOM CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP	INITIALS: IDENT
294	KINGDOM COURIER	INITIALS:
295	KINGDOM IDENTITY MINISTRIES	INITIALS: IDENT
296	KINGDOM MESSENGER	INITIALS: IDENT
297	KINGDOM SEEKERS MINISTRY	INITIALS: IDENT
298	KINGDOM TRUTH FELLOWSHIP	INITIALS: IDENT
299	KLU KLUX KLAN	INITIALS: KKK
300	KLU KLUX KLAN #87	INITIALS: SKINS
301	KNIGHTS OF THE KE KLUX KLAN	INITIALS: KKK
302	KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKK
303	KNIGHTS OF THE KU K;UX KLAN	INITIALS: KKK
304	KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN	INITIALS: KKK
305	KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN	INITIALS: KKKK
306	KNIGHTS OF THE KU LUX KLAN	INITIALS: KKK
307	KU KLUX KLAN	INITIALS: KKK

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308	L.A. DEATH SQUAD	INITIALS: SHARP.
309	LAPORTE CHURCH OF CHRIST	INITIALS: IDENT
310	LAROUCHE	INITIALS: LAROC
311	LAROUCHE	INITIALS: LAROU
312	LAROUCHE FOR PRESIDENT	INITIALS: LAROU
313	LAS VEGAS SKINHEADS	INITIALS: SKINS
314	LEGAL (JUSTICE TIMES)	INITIALS: LEGAL
315	LEGION FOR SURVIVAL OF FREEDOM	INITIALS: LL
316	LEGION OF THE NEW ORDER	INITIALS: LNO
317	LIBERTY CORPS	INITIALS: IDENT
318	LIBERTY LOBBY	INITIALS: LL
319	LIBERTY LOBBY FAT CAT	INITIALS: LL
320	LIBERTY NET	INITIALS:
321	LIBERTY TRUST	INITIALS: POP
322	LIGHTBEARERS OF JESUS THE CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
323	LIGHTHOUSE HEALING MISSION	INITIALS: IDENT
324	LORDS COVENANT CHURCH	INITIALS: LCC
325	LOS ANGELES SENTINEL	INITIALS: REVIS
326	M.A.A.C. AND COMPANY	INITIALS: IDENT
327	MALICIOUS OI BOYS	INITIALS: SKINS
328	MALICIOUS OL' BOYS	INITIALS: SKINS
329	MASH	INITIALS: SKINS
330	MCALVANY INTELLIGENCE ADVISOR	INITIALS:
331	MCCALDEN REVISIONIST NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: REVIS
332	MINISTRY OF CHRIST CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
333	MINNEAPOLIS BALDIES	INITIALS: SHARP
334	MINNESOTA BALDIES	INITIALS: SHARP
335	MISSION TO ISRAEL	INITIALS: IDENT

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336	MORNINGSIDE CHAPEL	INITIALS: IDENT
337	MULTIPLICATION UNLIMITED, INC.	INITIALS:
338	MCCALDEN REVISIONIST NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: REVIS
339	NAAWP NEWS	INITIALS: NAAWP
340	NAT.SOC.WHITE PEOPLES PARTY	INITIALS: NAZI
341	NAT.SOCIALIST WHITE WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: NSWWP
342	NATIONAL ALLIANCE	INITIALS: COTC
343	NATIONAL ALLIANCE	INITIALS: NA
344	NATIONAL ALLIANCE	INITIALS: SKINS
345	NATIONAL ARYAN FRONT	INITIALS: SKINS
346	NATIONAL ARYAN SKIN HEADS	INITIALS: NASH
347	NATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
348	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT BOOKSTORE	INITIALS: SKINS
349	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY	INITIALS: NAZI
350	NATIONAL EDUCATOR	INITIALS:
351	NATIONAL EDUCATOR	INITIALS: NE
352	NATIONAL EDUCATOR	INITIALS: POP
353	NATIONAL EURO-AMERICAN SOCIETY	INITIALS: POP
354	NATIONAL IDENTITY CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
355	NATIONAL JUSTICE FOUNDATION	INITIALS: NJF
356	NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: COTC
357	NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKK
358	NATIONAL MEDIA SERVICES	INITIALS: POP
359	NATIONAL PRAYER NETWORK	INITIALS:
360	NATIONAL SOC.WHITE PEOPLES PARTY	INITIALS: NSWPP
361	NATIONAL SOCIALIST FRONT	INITIALS: NAZI
362	NATIONAL SOCIALIST FRONT	INITIALS: SKINS
363	NATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE	INITIALS: NAZI

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364	NATIONAL SOCIALIST VANGUARD	INITIALS: ARYAN
365	NATIONAL SOCIALIST VANGUARD	INITIALS: NSV
366	NATIONAL SOCIALIST WHITE AMER. PARTY	INITIALS: NSWAP
367	NATIONAL SOCIALIST YOUTH CORP.	INITIALS: SKINS
368	NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY	INITIALS: NSRP
369	NATIONAL VANGUARD	INITIALS: NV
370	NATIONAL WHITE AWARENESS LEAGUE	INITIALS: NWAL
371	NATIONAL WHITE AWARENESS LEAGUE	INITIALS: SKINS
372	NATIONAL WHITE RESISTANCE NETWORK	INITIALS: SKINS
373	NATIONAL YOUTH ALLIANCE /71	INITIALS: NYA
374	NAVADA COMMITTEE OF THE STATES	INITIALS: COS
375	NEW ALLIANCE PARTY	INITIALS: NAP
376	NEW AMERICAN MAN	INITIALS:
377	NEW BEGINNINGS	INITIALS: IDENT
378	NEW CHRISTIAN CRUSADE CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
379	NEW COVENANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
380	NEW COVENANT CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
381	NEW DAWN	INITIALS: ODIN
382	NEW NATIONAL, USA	INITIALS: NNUSA
383	NEW ORDER	INITIALS: NAZI
384	NEW ORDER	INITIALS: SKINS
385	NEW ORDER LEGION	INITIALS: NOL
386	NEWS BEGINNINGS	INITIALS:
387	NOONTIDE PRESS	INITIALS: NP
388	NOONTIDE PRESS/85	INITIALS: NP
389	NORTHERN HAMMERSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
390	NORTHERN PRESS	INITIALS: NP
391	NORTHERN WORLD	INITIALS: NW

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392	NORTHVIEW ASSEMBLY OF GOD	INITIALS: IDENT
393	NORTHWEST KNIGHTS OF KKK	INITIALS: KKK
394	NORTHWEST KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKK
395	NORTHWEST SEPARATISTS	INITIALS: SKINS
396	NORTHWEST TERRITORY KNIGHTS KKK	INITIALS: KKK
397	NS KINDRED	INITIALS: NAZI
398	NSDAP-AO	INITIALS: NAZI
399	NT.ASSOC.ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOP.	INITIALS: NAAWP
400	NT.ORGANIZATION FOR WHITE AMERICA	INITIALS: NOWA
401	NT.SOC. WHITE PEOPLES PARTY/74	INITIALS: NSWPP
402	NT.SOC. WHITE PEOPLES PARTY/74	INITIALS: NSWPP
403	NT.SOC.DEPART.OF PRESERVATION	INITIALS: NSDAP
404	OKLAHOMA WHITE KNIGHTS	INITIALS: KKK
405	OMAGA	INITIALS:
406	OPERATION RESCUE (ANTI-ABORTION)	INITIALS:
407	ORDER OF THE BLACK EAGLE	INITIALS: ARYAN
408	ORGANIZED ORGANIZER	INITIALS: ARYAN
409	OUTCALLED OF GOD	INITIALS: IDENT
410	PACE	INITIALS: PACE
411	PACE	INITIALS: WAR
412	PACE AMENDMENT	INITIALS: SKIN
413	PANIC ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: EIR
414	PASADENA GOSPEL TEMPLE	INITIALS: IDENT
415	PATRIOT DEFENSE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM	INITIALS: SAP
416	PATRIOTIC NETWORK	INITIALS: SP
417	PATRIOTIC PARTY	INITIALS:
418	PATRIOTS OF THE NEW ORDER	INITIALS: WAR
419	PATRIOTS RESEARCH REPORTS	INITIALS: CTBT

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420.	PEOPLE CONCERNED ABOUT TODAY'S ED.	INITIALS: POP
421	PHOENIX JOURNAL EXPRESS	INITIALS:
422	PHOENIX LIBERATOR	INITIALS: GREEN
423	POLARI PUBLICATIONS	INITIALS: IDENT
424	POLISH POST EAGLE	INITIALS:
425	POLONIAN	INITIALS: POLE
426	POPOULIST PARTY/CARTO	INITIALS: POP
427	POPULIST ACTION COMMITTEE	INITIALS: POP
428	POPULIST PARTY	INITIALS: NAZI
429	POPULIST PARTY	INITIALS: POP
430	POPULIST PARTY	INITIALS: SKINS
431	POPULIST PARTY/ CARTO	INITIALS: POP
432	POPULIST PARTY/ CARTO	INITIALS: POP
433	POPULIST PARTY/67	INITIALS: POP
434	POPULIST PARTY/CARTO	INITIALS: POP
435	POPULIST PARTY/CARTO	INITIALS: PP
436	POPULIST PARTY/CARTO	INITIALS: PPC
437	PORTLAND BIBLE STUDY GROUP	INITIALS: IDENT
438	POSSE COMITATUS	INITIALS:
439	POSSE COMITATUS	INITIALS: ARYAN
440	POSSE COMITATUS	INITIALS: POSSE
441	POSSE COMITATUS	INITIALS: PS
442	POWAR	INITIALS: SKINS
443	PRO AMERICAN PRESS	INITIALS:
444	PROPHETIC HERALD	INITIALS: ARYAN
445	PUSH	INITIALS: SKINS
446	RACIAL LOYALTY	INITIALS: COTC
447	RACIAL LOYALTY	INITIALS: COTC

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448	RADIO FREE AMERICA	INITIALS: LL
449	RECONSTITUTED NATIONAL PARTY	INITIALS: APART
450	REDEEM OUR COUNTRY	INITIALS: TAX
451	REICH SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
452	REICHSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
453	REMARKS	INITIALS: REVIS
454	REMNANT CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
455	RENAISSANCE	INITIALS: NAZI
456	RESTORATION MINISTRIES	INITIALS: IDENT
457	RESTORATION OF BIBLE CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
458	ROCKARAMA RECORDS	INITIALS: SKINS
459	ROCKLIN WHITE PRIDE	INITIALS: SKINS
460	S.S.ACTION GROUP	INITIALS: NAZI
461	SALEM SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
462	SAN DIEGO IDENTITY	INITIALS: IDENT
463	SELF PROCLAIMED INDENTISTS	INITIALS:
464	SELF-DETERMINATION COMMITTEE	INITIALS: SDC
465	SHARPSKIN	INITIALS: SHARP
466	SHARPSKINS	INITIALS: SHARP
467	SHEPERD'S CHAPAL INC.	INITIALS: IDENT
468	SHOC BOY	INITIALS: SKINS
469	SKINHEAD ALLIANCE	INITIALS: SKINS
470	SKINHEAD DOGS	INITIALS: SKINS
471	SKINHEADS	INITIALS: SKINS
472	SKINS & PUNKS AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: SHARP
473	SOCIALIST NATIONAL FRONT	INITIALS: SKINS
474	SOLDIERS OF ISRAEL	INITIALS: ARYAN
475	SONS OF THE COVENANT	INITIALS:

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476	SOUTH EAST BOOT BOYS	INITIALS: SKINS
477	SOUTH SIDE PLAYERS	INITIALS: GANG
478	SOUTHEAST BOOT BOYS	INITIALS: SKINS
479	SOUTHERN JUSTICE	INITIALS: SKINS
480	SOUTHERN JUSTICE LEAGUE	INITIALS: SKINS
481	SOUTHERN WHITE KNIGHTS	INITIALS: KKK
482	SPOTLIGHT	INITIALS:
483	SPOTLIGHT	INITIALS: POP
484	SPOTLIGHT	INITIALS: SL
485	SPOTLIGHT	INITIALS: SPOT
486	SPOTLIGHT (LETTER TO:8/15/88)	INITIALS: SPOT
487	SPOTLIGHT (LETTER TO:9/8/88)	INITIALS: SPOT
488	SPOTLIGHT (LETTER TO 1/18/88)	INITIALS: SL
489	SPOTLIGHT / LETTER TO 2/2/76	INITIALS: SL
490	SPOTLIGHT 2/1/88	INITIALS: SPOT
491	SPOTLIGHT 3/7/88	INITIALS: SL
492	SS ACTION GROUP	INITIALS: NAZI
493	SS OF AMERICA	INITIALS: NAZI
494	SS-ACTION GROUP	INITIALS: NAZI
495	SS-ACTION GROUP	INITIALS: WSU
496	STONE KINGDOM MINISTRIES	INITIALS: IDENT
497	STOP IMMIGRATION NOW	INITIALS: SIN
498	STOP IRS LEVY (JUSTICE TIMES)	INITIALS:
499	STRIKEFORCE	INITIALS: SKINS
500	STUDENTS FOR AMERICA	INITIALS:
501	SURVIVAL	INITIALS: JAP
502	SURVIVAL IN THE 21ST CENTURY	INITIALS: JAP
503	SWORD OF CHRIST	INITIALS: IDENT

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504	TAX PROTESTER	INITIALS:
505	TEUTONIC TIMES	INITIALS: SKINS
506	THE ALARMING CRY	INITIALS:
507	THE ALARMING CRY	INITIALS: APRA
508	THE AMERICAN FIRM	INITIALS: SKINS
509	THE AMERICAN FREEMAN ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: FREE
510	THE AMERICAN FRONT	INITIALS: SKINS
511	THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE CRUSADER	INITIALS: IDENT
512	THE ASSEMBLY OF JESUS CHRIST	INITIALS: IDENT
513	THE ASSEMBLY OF YAHWEH	INITIALS: IDENT
514	THE BIBLE EDUCATOR	INITIALS: IDENT
515	THE BOX PUBLIC ACCESS CYNICS	INITIALS:
516	THE CHRISTIAN GUARD	INITIALS: IDENT
517	THE CITIZENS CLAW	INITIALS: CC
518	THE COLEMAN REPORT	INITIALS:
519	THE CONNECTOR	INITIALS:
520	THE FINAL SOLUTION	INITIALS: NAZI
521	THE ILLINOIS KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKKK
522	THE JUBILEE	INITIALS:
523	THE JUBILEE	INITIALS: IDENT
524	THE JUBILEE	INITIALS: SKINS
525	THE LAPORTE CHURCH OF CHRIST	INITIALS: IDENT
526	THE LEAGUE OF PACE ADVOCATES	INITIALS: PACE
527	THE LORD'S WORK, INC.	INITIALS: IDENT
528	THE NEW ORDER	INITIALS: NAZI
529	THE NEW PAGANISM	INITIALS: ODIN
530	THE ORDER	INITIALS: ARYAN
531	THE OTHER SIDE	INITIALS: TAX

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532	THE PATRIOT REVIEW	INITIALS: IDENT
533	THE PURE AMERICAN PARTY	INITIALS: SKINS
534	THE REGULATORS	INITIALS: SKINS
535	THE SERVANT	INITIALS: CSL
536	THE SHEPHERD'S CHAPEL	INITIALS: IDENT
537	THE SOUTHERN JUSTICE	INITIALS: SKINS
538	THE SPEAKER NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: IDENT
539	THE TRANSVAAL SEPARATISTS	INITIALS: APART
540	THE UPRIGHT OSTRICH	INITIALS: TUO
541	THE VIGILANTES	INITIALS: KKK
542	THE WHITE BERET	INITIALS: KKK
543	THE WHITE CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
544	THE WHITE KNIGHTS IN THE HEARTLAND	INITIALS: KKK
545	THE WHITE PATRIOT	INITIALS: KKK
546	THE WHITE WARLORDS	INITIALS: SKINS
547	THOR'S HAMMER KINDRED	INITIALS: ODIN
548	THORR'S HAMMER KINDRED, INC.	INITIALS: SKINS
549	TRADITIONAL VALUES COALITION	INITIALS:
550	U.S. NATIONALIST PARTY	INITIALS:
551	U.S. SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
552	U.S.A. NATIONALIST PARTY	INITIALS: KKK
553	U.S.H.A.	INITIALS: SKINS
554	UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA	INITIALS: KKK
555	UNITED SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
556	UNITED SOUTHERN SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
557	UNITED WHITE WORKING CLASS	INITIALS: SKINS
558	UNITY OF ARYAN WOMEN	INITIALS: SKINS
559	UTAH STATE GUARD	INITIALS: AN

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588	WHITE LIBERATION MOVEMENT	INITIALS: APART
589	WHITE NATIONALIST LEAGUE	INITIALS: SKINS
590	WHITE PEOPLES PARTY	INITIALS: WAR
591	WHITE POINT PUBLISHING	INITIALS: KKK
592	WHITE PRIDE SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
593	WHITE STUDENT PATRIOT UNION	INITIALS: WAR
594	WHITE STUDENT UNION	INITIALS: PACE
595	WHITE STUDENT UNION	INITIALS: WAR
596	WHITE STUDENT UNION	INITIALS: WSU
597	WHITE STUDENT UNION (1985-87)	INITIALS:
598	WHITE STUDENT UNION (1985-87)	INITIALS: STU
599	WHITE STUDENT UNION (1985-87)	INITIALS: WAR
600	WHITE STUDENT UNION (1985-87)	INITIALS: WSU
601	WHITE UNITY	INITIALS: NAZI
602	WHITE UNITY PARTY	INITIALS: ARYAN
603	WHITE WORLD NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: NAZI
604	WHITE YOUTH ALLIANCE	INITIALS: WYA
605	WOODBROOK CHAPEL	INITIALS:
606	WORD OF CHRIST MISSION	INITIALS:
607	WYOMING KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKK
608	YOUNGBLOOD	INITIALS: SKINS
609	YOUR HERITAGE CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
610	YOUR HERITAGE PROTECTION ASSOC.	INITIALS: SCIE
611	YOUR MAINE TO OREGON INDEP. INFORMER	INITIALS: IDENT
612	YOUTH FOR HITLER	INITIALS: SKINS

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560	VHS/ BETA VIDEO TAPES	INITIALS: IDENT
561	VIKING VIEWPOINT	INITIALS: SKINS
562	VIRGINIA CHRISTIAN ISRAELITE	INITIALS: IDENT
563	VOICE OF LIBERTY NEWSLETTER	INITIALS:
564	W.A.S.H.	INITIALS: SKINS
565	W.A.U./M.G.	INITIALS: SKINS
566	WAR SUBSCRIPTION LIST	INITIALS: WAR
567	WARSKINS	INITIALS: SKIN
568	WARSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
569	WARSKINS, SAN DIEGO UNIT	INITIALS: SKINS
570	WESTERN GUARD	INITIALS: KKK
571	WESTERN HAMMERSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
572	WHITE AMERICAN POLITICAL ASSOC.	INITIALS: WAPA
573	WHITE AMERICAN REISTANCE	INITIALS: SKINS
574	WHITE AMERICAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS:
575	WHITE AMERICAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: SKIN
576	WHITE AMERICAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: SKINS
577	WHITE AMERICAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: WAR
578	WHITE ARYAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: SKIN
579	WHITE ARYAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: SKINS
580	WHITE ARYAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: WAR
581	WHITE ARYAN RESISTENCE	INITIALS: SKINS
582	WHITE ARYAN RESISTENCE	INITIALS: WAR
583	WHITE AWARENESS	INITIALS: SKINS
584	WHITE AYRAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: WAR
585	WHITE CAMELIA KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKK
586	WHITE CHRISTIAN WOMEN	INITIALS: SKINS
587	WHITE KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKKK

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1		INITIALS: SKINS
2	AMERICAN FRONT	INITIALS: SKINS
3	AMERICAN NAZI PARTY	INITIALS: SKINS
4	AMERICAN WHITE SEPARATIST	INITIALS: SKINS
5	ARIZONA WHITE BATTALION	INITIALS: SKINS
6	ARYAN WOMAN'S LEAGUE	INITIALS: SKINS
7	ARYAN YOUTH MOVEMENT	INITIALS: SKINS
8	BURBANK PUNK ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: SKINS
9	CASH/ ROMANTIC VIOLENCE	INITIALS: SKINS
10	CHICAGO WHITE VIKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
11	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY SKINHEAD	INITIALS: SKINS
12	EAST SIDE WHITE PRIDE	INITIALS: SKINS
13	HAMMER SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
14	HEARTLAND WAR DIRECTOR	INITIALS: SKINS
15	LAS VEGAS SKINHEADS	INITIALS: SKINS
16	NATIONAL WHITE RESISTANCE NETWORK	INITIALS: SKINS
17	PAGE AMENDMENT	INITIALS: SKINS
18	POWAR	INITIALS: SKINS
19	PUSH	INITIALS: SKINS
20	REICHSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
21	ROCKLIN WHITE PRIDE	INITIALS: SKINS
22	SALEM SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
23	SKINHEAD DOGS	INITIALS: SKINS
24	SKINHEADS	INITIALS: SKINS
25	SKINS & PUNKS AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: SHARP
26	SOCIALIST NATIONAL FRONT	INITIALS: SKINS
27	STRIKEFORCE	INITIALS: SKINS

Facts About the ADL's Criminal History

There is actually a great wealth of factual historical information about the sordid history of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith. A primary source for virtually all of the major published documentation about the ADL's history is Liberty Library, the book-selling division of LIBERTY LOBBY, the populist Institution that first exposed the ADL's national spy network. What follows is a list of informative publications about the ADL which are available from Liberty Library:

- *The ADL and Its Use in the World Communist Offensive* by military intelligence officer Robert Williams, \$2 per copy.
- *Conspiracy Against Freedom*, 227 pages, indexed, outlining the ADL's drive to silence free speech in this country, \$12.95 paperback or \$15.95 hardback.
- *Liberty Lobby's White Paper on the ADL*, exposing the ADL as an illegally unregistered foreign agent of Israel, \$1.
- Transcription of the sworn legal deposition of ADL operative Alan Schwartz, conducted by attorney Mark Lane, \$15 per copy.
- *The Ugly Truth About the ADL* by the staff of Executive Intelligence Review, examining the ADL's long-time and intimate ties to the Meyer Lansky organized crime syndicate, \$8.
- Extra copies of *The Garbage Man—The Strange World of Roy Edward Bullock* are also available at \$15 per copy.

To order any or all of the above studies, write: Liberty Library, 300 Independence Avenue, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

Spy Scandal Unveils ADL Link in Populist Intrigue

A spy scandal that has just now rocked the American home community, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) informant who served as a case officer for three controversial and suspect figures in the populist movement: William R. Weaver, Donald H. Wassall and the late David McAdams, II, was The SPOTLIGHT that first revealed the truth about the shadowy ADL operative Roy Bullock on June 30, 1986, nearly seven years ago.



ROY BULLOCK

WILLIAM R. WEAVER

DONALD H. WASSALL



This Is Roy Bullock...

...and he is not the only one who has been exposed by The SPOTLIGHT.

ADL

...and he is not the only one who has been exposed by The SPOTLIGHT.



ROY BULLOCK

...and he is not the only one who has been exposed by The SPOTLIGHT.

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...and he is not the only one who has been exposed by The SPOTLIGHT.

On February 15, 1993 The SPOTLIGHT published the expose (shown above) which detailed the collaboration of Ford City, Pennsylvania-based attorney Don Wassall with agents of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith. For more on the strange activities of the ADL and its effort to sabotage the populist movement, see the documents that appear inside this special report.

FBI

DATE: 03-27-2013
 CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22
 REASON: 1.4 (c, d)
 DECLASSIFY ON: 03-27-2038

TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☒ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

~~SECRET~~ (U)

Date 7/20/93

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

(U)

(ATTN: SSA [redacted])

[CI-2E]

(U)

(S) FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO [redacted]

(P) (CRA-2)

(S) SUBJECT : [redacted]

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE

This entire communication is classified "Secret." (U)

(S)

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of a publication titled "The Garbage Man - The Strange World of Roy Edward Bullock." Two copies of this publication are enclosed for Los Angeles, San Diego and WMFO for informational purposes.

The enclosed document was published by the "Liberty Lobby" organization of Washington, D.C. This is a

- (U) 3 - Bureau (Enc. 3)
 (2 - [CI-2E])
 (1 - Office of Congressional and Public Affairs)
 ④ - Los Angeles (Enc. 2) (INFO)
 (2 - 65X-LA-153918)
 2 - San Diego (Enc. 2) (INFO)
 2 - WMFO (Enc. 2) (INFO)
 5 - San Francisco

(S) (2 - [redacted])
 (2 - [redacted])
 (1 - 264B-SF-100978)

JAM/jam

12-2-94
 Classified by SP12BJL/m
 Declassify on: OADR

Classified By: G-3
 Declassify On: OADR
 Secret

65X-LA-153918-44

~~SECRET~~

Approved: _____ Transmitted _____

(Number) (Time)

Per _____

b1
 b3
 b6
 b7C

~~SECRET~~(U)

right wing organization with a long history of enmity toward the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Based on information available, San Francisco believes members of the Liberty Lobby are responsible for the majority of letters received by members of the U.S. Congress regarding this matter, which have resulted in letters of inquiry to the FBI. San Francisco assumes that publication of the enclosed, which consists largely of photocopies of FBI and San Francisco Police Department documents, will cause the generation of still more letters to Congress, with resulting further inquiries to the FBI. The enclosed is therefore being provided to the Bureau, and to other receiving offices based on mention in the enclosed of persons or events within receiving offices' territories.

Recipients should note that the FD-302s which are reproduced in the enclosed were obtained by Liberty Lobby through the office of the San Francisco District Attorney. The FD-302s were originally shared by San Francisco with the San Francisco Police Department, inasmuch as they contain information relevant to SFPD's criminal investigation regarding the subject of this matter [redacted] and [redacted] co-conspirator, former SFPD Inspector [redacted]. The SFPD subsequently utilized the FD-302s to support search warrant affidavits, which the San Francisco District Attorney's Office made public following execution of the warrants.

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~(U)

~~SECRET~~

August 9, 1979

Hon. Benjamin Navon
Consul General
State of Israel
6380 Wilshire Blvd. Suite 1700
Los Angeles, CA 90048

Dr

Dear Consul Navon:

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

As I mentioned during our telephone conversation yesterday, my San Francisco office has come into possession of information with regard to a young Palestinian male planning to return to Israel and maintain contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

According to the information we have received, the young man, approximately [redacted] old, is planning to "return to Palestine" after having emigrated from the West Bank prior to 1967. He and his family are planning to leave the San Francisco area about August 15, 1979. His name is [redacted] He lives at [redacted] San Francisco, California 94118.

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b7C

According to further information we have received, the young man made contact with the PLO on a visit to Kuwait last year.

I trust you will relay this information to responsible authorities in Israel to double check whether there is any truth to the story we have heard.

Cordially,

DECLASSIFIED BY SP12/B15411
ON 12-2-94

DAVID A. LEHRER
Western States Counsel

154153918-45

DA - DA

DB

DAL/dg

BCC: Irwin Suall

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

3-4

July 30, 1979

To: David Lehrer

~~SECRET~~

From: [redacted]

b6
b7C

While I was sitting at the COPME booth in Golden Gate Park for Palestine Cultural Day, a young Palestinian male (about [redacted] years old) came up to me and started asking about COPME and our political orientation. I explained that we were not Marxist, but that we were definitely oriented toward the left. He complained that the people who were attending Palestine Cultural Day were mostly apolitical bourgeois-types. He then signed COPME's mailing list, and left. About one-half hour later he came back, and we started talking again. He told me that he and his family were "moving to Palestine." He explained that they had lived on the West Bank before 1967 and emigrated here after that. But because they signed certain papers before they left, they would be allowed to return if they wanted to do so. (He wasn't too clear on the actual legal procedure required; I'm simply telling you what he told me.) He and his family are intending to leave San Francisco about August 15, 1979. Furthermore, he told me that he had been in Kuwait last year and had made contacts with the PLO there. He stated that when he returned to Palestine -- namely, the West Bank -- he would make contact with the Palestinian resistance movement and work for them.

The name of this person is: [redacted], SF 9411

xc: [redacted]

Irwin Suall

DECLASSIFIED BY SP12 BTJ/lin
ON 12-2-94

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Arab file

FILE
Arab Activ
Bay Area

TO: Irwin Suall

FROM: [REDACTED]

DATE: June 18, 1986

SUBJECT: Arab Activity in San Francisco Bay Area

San Francisco Bay
Area ARAB
ACTIVITY
Card // folder
ref card to be
made
Arab activity -
SF Bay Area.

b6
b7c

On Friday, June 13, Sergeant/Inspector [REDACTED] of the San Francisco Police Department telephoned our offices and requested an urgent follow up meeting to discuss the activities of specific Arab organizations and individuals in the Bay Area. (Our earlier meeting with [REDACTED] is detailed in a memorandum to [REDACTED] of 6/6/86, of which you were copie

[REDACTED] arrived carrying a multi-inch folder of material. We proceeded in discussions which lasted more than two hours and during which he provided ADL a significant amount of information.

I was joined in this meeting by an official friend, whose familiarity experience in these matters provided the necessary catalyst for a thorough and detailed exchange of information. Our friend's presence was invaluable. Attached you will find his synopsis of information gleaned from our discussion. Additionally, the following points should be included to complete this report:

- - [REDACTED] mentioned that the Department has enlisted the services of two Arabic-speaking informants who will provide to the police the names of all Arabic-speaking activists in the Bay Area.
- - The California head of the DFLP is [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Daly City, CA., 94014. He is approximately [REDACTED] years old and presumed to be originally from a village in Israel called "Dir-Debwan." This village has apparently produced many Bay Area activists.
- - [REDACTED] maintains there are two active DFLP cells statewide, in San Francisco and San Diego. Travel between the two cities by DFLP activists occurs frequently. The Arabic-language attachments to this memorandum are believed to have emanated from San Diego.
- - A follow-up call from [REDACTED] yesterday concerning speculation over a woman of Syrian descent working for [REDACTED] clarified her name as [REDACTED] Berkeley, CA..
- - [REDACTED] feels that local ACLU attorney [REDACTED] is closely allied to the November 29th Coalition. [REDACTED] generally regards the ACLU as disruptive of the type of investigative work he focuses upon.

~~SECRET~~

- [] posited the following theory for our consideration: The start-up costs for opening a licensed travel agency are only \$1500, which then fronts such an establishment one million dollars worth of travel credit. It is thus conceivable that Arab activists could be opening travel agencies as scam operations wherein their individual travel records would not be traceable. b6 b7C
- - On June 26th and 27th, in Los Angeles and San Francisco respectively the U.S. Justice Department is sponsoring seminars for sworn officers only on the subject of Arab terrorism. [] may be able to arrange for the distribution of ADL business cards to the attendees at these seminars.

I trust this information will be useful to you.

RSH,d:

Encl:

cc:

[]
Justin Firger []

[]
David Lehrer []

~~SECRET~~

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Central Pacific Regional Office
121 Stewart Street, Suite 401
San Francisco, CA 94105-1206
(415) 546-0200
FAX: (415) 546-1934

~~SECRET~~

March 24, 1989

~~SECRET~~

Richard D. Walker
Chief of Police
Portland Police Department
1111 SW Second Avenue
Portland, OR 97204

Dear Dick:

On behalf of and myself, we want to thank you again for your enthusiastic participation in the Law Enforcement Mission to Israel earlier this month.

b6
b7c

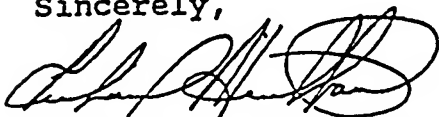
From our vantage point, the trip was more than simply an opportunity to exchange ideas and practical information -- the face-to-face interaction among American and Israeli law enforcement officials signalled what hopefully will be an ongoing dialogue among colleagues and friends.

In an effort to facilitate regular communication between the police departments and the Israeli Ministry of Police, I wish to offer the San Francisco ADL office as a repository for information from your agency which can then be forwarded directly to Director-General Aviner in Jerusalem.

To this end, I would appreciate your favoring me with copies of departmental newsletters, brochures, and other literature which you believe might be of value to your counterparts in Israel. I will also look toward sharing with each of you materials from the Israeli police officials as well. This exchange could be a useful legacy to our recent mission.

We hope you have each settled back into your duties with relatively little jet lag. Please know again what a delight it was for us to experience Israel with you firsthand.

Sincerely,



Richard S. Hirschhaut
Regional Director

RSH:skl

cc:

bcc:

DECLASSIFIED BY SP120157
ON 12-2-94

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A WORLD OF
DIFFERENCE

... an education/media project for intergroup understanding and America's democratic ideals

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22
ON 03-27-2013

TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☒ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 7/1/93

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
 (ATTN: SSA [REDACTED], [CI-2E]) (X)^u

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (65X-LA-153918) (P) [(CRA-2)] (X)^u

SUBJECT : UNSUBS;
 UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION
 LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED
 INFORMATION;
 ESP - X;
 OO: LOS ANGELES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE

This entire communication is classified "Secret." (U)

(U)

Enclosed for the Bureau and Los Angeles are two
 copies each of the following documents:

1. Letter, dated 8/9/79, from ADL Western States
 Counsel DAVID A. LEHRER (current head of the Los Angeles ADL
 office) to [REDACTED] Consul General, Israeli Consulate,
 Los Angeles.

2. Memo, dated 6/18/86, from RICHARD S. HIRSCHHAUT
 (current head of the San Francisco ADL office) to IRWIN SUALL
 (Fact Finding Director, ADL Headquarters, New York).

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 6)
 ② - Los Angeles (Enc. 6)
 3 - San Francisco

(2 - 65X-LA-153918)

(1 - [105-29969])

Classified By: G-3
 Declassify On: OADR
 Secret

JAM/jam
 (7)

Declassify on: OADR

APP 98-1598
 CLASSIFIED BY: SP3 / [signature]

REASON: 1.5

DECLASSIFY ON: X

~~SECRET~~

Approved: _____

Transmitted _____

(Number)

(Time)

65X-LA-153918-410

SEARCHED	SERIALIZED
INDEXED	FILED
Per [signature]	
JUL 1 1993	
FBI-LOS ANGELES	

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
 BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
 DATE: 3/13/01

SP3 / [signature] 5/11/02

b6
 b7C
 b7E

~~SECRET~~

3. Letter, dated 3/24/89, from RICHARD S. HIRSCHHAUT to RICHARD D. WALKER, Chief of Police, Portland, Oregon, Police Department.

The enclosed items were provided to San Francisco by the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), which recovered them during execution of search warrants at the Los Angeles and San Francisco ADL offices earlier in 1993. They were provided for whatever use the FBI deems appropriate.

Copies are being provided to Los Angeles inasmuch as they indicate that: 1) Former SFPD Inspector [] was a significant source of law enforcement material for the ADL, and 2) the ADL has served for at least a number of years as a conduit for intelligence information on U.S. persons and others for the Israeli Government. The latter point was made by former ADL Fact Finder [] during San Francisco's interview of him in March, 1993 (a copy of the FD-302 of which was previously provided to Los Angeles); the enclosed letters appear to provide confirmation of [] statement.

b6
b7c

(U) With regard to the enclosed 8/9/79 letter, the "young Palestinian male," [] who is discussed therein, is noted in San Francisco indices in 105-29969 - 3 p.2. It identifies him as [] DPOB [] in [] a U.S. Permanent Resident Alien with INS number []. He is the son of the subject of the file, [] DPOB [] a Permanent Resident Alien with INS number []. On 10/26/72 the SFPD advised San Francisco that [] and his brother [] operators of a small San Francisco grocery store, might be sending money to the Middle East to support "Arab guerrillas in Palestine." Investigation by San Francisco found no information to support this and the file was closed on 5/31/73. (S)

Any additional pertinent information found by San Francisco regarding captioned matter will be forwarded to Los Angeles.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

☒ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☐ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☒ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☒ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

11/1/99
 CLASSIFIED BY: ~~SP3/Li/5m~~
 REASON: 1.5
 DECLASSIFY ON: ~~C~~
 APP. 98-1548

Date 9/21/93

DATE: 03-28-2013

CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22

REASON: 1.4 (c)

DECLASSIFY ON: 03-28-2038

FM FBI LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-153918) (P)

TO DIRECTOR FBI/ROUTINE/

BT

~~SECRET~~

(U) CITE: //3410: [FCI-31] (S)

12-2-94
 Classified by SP126756um
 Declassify on: OADR

SUBJECT: UNSUBS; UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-
 DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU SENSITIVE
 INFORMATION; ESP-X; OO: LOS ANGELES.

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED SECRET (U)

(U)

REQUEST OF FBIHQ: FBIHQ IS REQUESTED TO GRANT AUTHORITY

FOR ASAC EDWARD J. CURRAN, LOS ANGELES [FCI ASAC] TO PERSONALLY
 INTERVIEW DAVID LEHRER, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, ADL-LOS ANGELES,
 CONCERNING LEHRER'S KNOWLEDGE OF HOW THE ADL CAME INTO
 POSSESSION OF A BUREAU LHM TITLED NATION OF ISLAM

INDEXED

FILED

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1-AGENT COPY

Approved: CJP/B

Original filename: ABN00220.264

Time Received:

Telprep filename: ABN00220.264

MRI/JULIAN DATE: 1923/200

ISN: 008

FOX DATE & TIME OF ACCEPTANCE: 9-22-93 2329 18m

65X10-153918-48

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
 BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
 DATE: 3/10/00
 SP3/GJ/KST 3/10/02

Changes pgs
 not

Note
 Corrections
 Pgs 2-3

b6
 b7C
 b7E

^PAGE 2 65X-LA-153918 ~~SECRET~~ (U)

FOR INFORMATION OF FBIHQ, INVESTIGATION WAS PREDICATED ON INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM FBI-SAN FRANCISCO THAT A DOCUMENT RESEMBLING A BUREAU LHM WAS FOUND DURING A SEARCH OF ADL OFFICES IN SAN FRANCISCO. [SAN FRANCISCO POLICE (SFPD) AND THE BUREAU JOINTLY CONDUCTED THE SEARCH BASED [REDACTED]

b1
b3

(S) [REDACTED]
(S) [REDACTED]
(S) [REDACTED] (S) MANY DOCUMENTS SURFACED DURING THE SEARCH, ONE OF WHICH WAS A DOCUMENT PERTAINING TO THE NATION OF ISLAM.

BECAUSE A SAN FRANCISCO INTERVIEW OF A FORMER ADL EMPLOYEE INDICATED THAT THE NOI DOCUMENT ORIGINATED IN LOS ANGELES, SAN FRANCISCO ASKED LOS ANGELES TO DETERMINE IF THE DOCUMENT ORIGINATED IN A LOS ANGELES FILE.

A REVIEW DETERMINED THAT THE DOCUMENT WAS ACTUALLY A ~~BUREAU ORIGINATED~~ LHM, DATED JANUARY 14, 1988, ~~ORIGINATING~~ FROM CHICAGO FILE 100A-57011, TITLED THE NATION OF ISLAM (NOI); DOMESTIC TERRORISM-NOI; OO: CHICAGO.

THE LHM WAS DISSEMINATED VIA COVER AIRTEL TO THE BUREAU, ALEXANDRIA, DALLAS, LOS ANGELES, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, PHOENIX AND CHICAGO. CONTAINED WITHIN THE LHM WAS SOURCE

~~SECRET~~ (U)

^PAGE 3 65X-LA-153918 ~~SECRET~~ (U)

REPORTING THAT INDICATED THAT THE LEADER OF NOI, LOUIS FARRAKHAN, WAS IN CONTACT WITH MOAMMAR QADHAFI, FOR THE PURPOSE OF SOLICITING FUNDS FOR NOI. THE LHM, WHILE NOT SPECIFICALLY CLASSIFIED, WAS LOCATED IN A CLASSIFIED FILE.

[PREVIOUS VERSIONS OF THE LHM WERE DISSEMINATED AS ATTACHMENTS TO A ~~SECRET~~ AIRTEL, SENT UNDER CHICAGO FILE 199G-1076.] THE CLASSIFICATION LEVEL OF THE ATTACHMENTS WAS NOT INDICATED.

IN EARLY 1993, ~~AROUND THE TIME FRAME OF MARCH 1989~~ FORMER ADL EMPLOYEE

(DIRCA 3/89)
[REDACTED] RECALLED SEEING A COPY OF THE LHM IN THE FILES OF THE ADL IN LOS ANGELES. ATTACHED TO THE COPY OF THE LHM WAS A COVER MEMO FROM ADL EMPLOYEE [REDACTED], WHO HAD RECEIVED THE DOCUMENT. THE COVER MEMO WAS DATED SOMETIME IN 1988, AND NOTED THAT THE ADL HAD RECEIVED THE LHM FROM "AN OFFICIAL FRIEND" AND THAT IT SHOULD BE TREATED CONFIDENTIALLY.

FBI SAN FRANCISCO SET FORTH A LEAD TO FBINY TO CONTACT THE ADL IN NEW YORK CITY, TO DETERMINE IF ANY BUREAU DOCUMENTS WERE HELD AT THAT LOCATION. THE HEAD OF INVESTIGATIONS FOR ADL WAS ASKED IF THEY HAD A COPY OF THE NOI DOCUMENT. THEY DID, AND INDICATED THAT THE DOCUMENT THEY HELD ORIGINATED IN LOS ANGELES, AND THAT COPIES WERE MADE AND DISSEMINATED

~~SECRET~~ (U)

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b7c

^PAGE 4 65X-LA-153918 ~~SECRET~~ (U)

NATIONALLY. THE ADL PROVIDED THEIR COPY OF THE NOI LHM TO FBI SAN FRANCISCO, WHICH PRESENTED THE LHM TO FBI LOS ANGELES. PRIOR TO GIVING THE DOCUMENT TO LOS ANGELES, SAN FRANCISCO SHOWED [] THE DOCUMENT AND ASKED HIM IF IT WAS THE SAME AS THAT WHICH HE HAD SEEN BACK IN 1989. HE SAID IT WAS SIMILAR IN THAT THE "T" SYMBOLS ON THE DOCUMENT HAD BEEN INKED OUT. HOWEVER THE COPY HE HAD SEEN WAS, HE BELIEVED, AN ORIGINAL COPY IN THAT HE COULD READ THE "T" SYMBOLS THROUGH THE INK BY HOLDING THE DOCUMENT UP TO THE LIGHT.

b6
b7c

AN INTERVIEW OF [] WAS NOT PRODUCTIVE, HOWEVER [] ADVISED THAT DAVID LEHRER, AS ADL REGIONAL DIRECTOR, MIGHT KNOW WHO PROVIDED THE DOCUMENT TO THE ADL.

LOS ANGELES INDICES FOR [] AND LEHRER WERE NEGATIVE, SAVE FOR SEVERAL CONTACTS WITH LOS ANGELES INVITING PAST SAC'S TO PARTICIPATE IN ADL BRIEFINGS AND FUNCTIONS.

THE LOS ANGELES COPY OF CHICAGO FILE 100A-57011 WAS REVIEWED, AND IT WAS NOTED THAT THREE MEMBERS OF THE FBI-LAPD TERRORISM TASK FORCE HAD SIGNED FD-159'S ACKNOWLEDGING RECEIPT OF THE NOI LHM. THESE INDIVIDUALS WERE SGT [] LOS

~~SECRET~~ (U)

^PAGE 5 65X-LA-153918 ~~SECRET~~ (U)

ANGELES SHERIFFS DEPARTMENT; DETECTIVE [REDACTED] AND
DETECTIVE [REDACTED] BOTH OF THE LAPD.

b1
b3
b6
b7C

(S) ~~4/E~~ CONCURRENT WITH SAN FRANCISCO'S INVESTIGATION OF THE
[REDACTED] TO THE SFPD AND THE ADL A SPATE OF
NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED,
AND HUNDREDS OF LETTERS TO CONGRESSMAN AND SENATORS HAVE BEEN
SENT BY ANGRY CONSTITUENTS CONCERNING THE ADL AND PERCEIVED
INVASIONS OF PRIVACY. IN RESPONSE TO THESE ARTICLES BOTH
LEHRER AND OTHER ADL SPOKESPERSONS HAVE EXPRESSED A ~~WILLINGNESS~~ *ensured*
WILLINGNESS TO FULLY COOPERATE WITH ANY INVESTIGATION OF THE
ADL CONCERNING THE EVENTS ORIGINATING IN SAN FRANCISCO.

(U) IN FURTHERANCE OF ITS INVESTIGATION, LOS ANGELES HAS
~~EXAMINED SEVERAL POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION, IN CONSULTATION~~
~~WITH THE CASE AGENT, [FBI-3 SUPERVISOR, AND LOS ANGELES FBI~~
~~ASAC.] IT WAS DETERMINED THAT AT THIS TIME THE BEST COURSE OF~~
ACTION WOULD BE FOR THE ASAC TO PERSONALLY INTERVIEW LEHRER,
BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL SENSITIVES OF THIS INVESTIGATION.
ACCORDINGLY, LOS ANGELES IS REQUESTING FBIHQ AUTHORITY TO
INTERVIEW LEHRER.

~~G BY 9933, DECL ON OADR~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

^PAGE 6 65X-LA-153918 S E C R E T^(U)

BT

~~SECRET~~^(U)

~~SECRET~~DECLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22
ON 03-28-2013TRANSMIT VIA: AIRTELCLASSIFICATION: SECRETDATE: 9/23/93

FROM: Director, FBI

TO: SAC, Los Angeles

UNSUB;
UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL)
IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU SENSITIVE INFORMATION;
ESP-X;
OO: LOS ANGELES

90

This entire communication is classified ~~SECRET~~. (U)

(U)

Re your teletype to the Bureau, dated September 22,
1993.

Re teletype requested authority for ASAC Edward J. Curran to personally interview David Lehrer, Regional Director, ADL-Los Angeles. In view of the investigation conducted to date by Los Angeles, FBIHQ authority is granted to interview subject to resolve this matter.

The interview is to be conducted according to FCIM 65-5.1 guidelines, and recorded on an FD-302 in the event this matter warrants possible prosecution. (S) u

b6
b7C
b7E

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

11/4/99
CLASSIFIED BY: SP3/LJ/SM
REASON: 1.5
DECLASSIFY ON: X 1

APP. 98. 1598

Classified by G-3
Declassify on OADR
SECRET

12-298
Classified by SP1LBD/um
Declassify on: OADR

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 3/13/02

SP3/LJ/SM
5/10/02

~~SECRET~~

EX-153918-49

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 27 1993	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Civil Rights Groups Sue ADL,

Court: Plaintiffs say that law enforcement authorities allowed confidential files to be given to the Jewish anti-extremism organization.

By KENNETH REICH
and RICHARD C. PADDOCK
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

An array of civil rights organizations filed a federal lawsuit Thursday against the Anti-Defamation League and law enforcement authorities in Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego, asking for an injunction against spying and damages for alleged privacy violations.

Groups representing Arab-Americans and African-Americans led the effort, along with other organizations. Joining in the suit were former Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally, former Los Angeles City Councilman Robert Farrell and others who said their names turned up in files obtained by ADL operatives from police agencies.

The lawsuit, while months in preparation, was filed at a time

when ADL critics have doubts that a lengthy investigation by San Francisco Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith of alleged ADL spying will lead to charges against the Jewish civil rights and anti-extremism organization.

Smith has been attempting to negotiate an agreement with the ADL that would require the group to halt its intelligence-gathering activities in California in exchange for lenient treatment.

Those negotiations have proceeded slowly, said one source close to the investigation, and the district attorney's office has made plans to take the case before a San Francisco grand jury next month.

In recent days, however, negotiations to resolve the case without prosecution have resumed, the source said. As part of a negotiated settlement, prosecutors want the Anti-Defamation League to pay a

fine and promise that it will not engage in improper spying in California, he said.

However, prosecutors refuse to go along with the Anti-Defamation League request for the return of documents seized earlier this year, which include illegally obtained police information such as mug photos and rap sheets.

"Talks have started up again," said the source close to the investigation.

The ADL has continued to maintain that it did nothing improper in what it calls its fact-finding operations.

"Despite the transparent objectives of those bringing this suit, ADL will not be deterred from its mandate to counter extremism in defense of American democracy," the ADL said Thursday, responding to the latest suit. "We will continue to champion the civil rights of all Americans, even those who have brought this suit."

In the meantime, the plaintiffs in an earlier lawsuit over alleged ADL spying suffered a blow earlier

this month. A San Francisco judge ruled that the ADL was an organization with journalistic purposes that had some protection under the state "shield law" that allows journalists to guard the identity of their sources.

The significance of the decision is disputed, however, and how it applies to the federal suit filed Thursday is unclear. The judge extended journalistic shield privileges to the ADL, which says it exists to fight extremism. However, the judge said the protection extends only to the group's journalistic activities and not necessarily to all documents.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.) LA TIMES

Date: 10/22/93
Edition:

Title: Civil Rights Groups Sue ADL, Ask for Injunction Again

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

Indexing:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-2-94 BY SP12 BJS/um

Plaintiffs in the new lawsuit include the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network, the American Indian Movement, the National Lawyers Guild, the Coalition Against Police Abuse and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Palestine.

The source said the board then refused to return the temple's executive committee defeated in his bid to be elected in 1989, the source said. China was one of the temple's original founders and helped to buy the building. The dissident group. He also was who he said is one of the leaders of Lakhbir S. China of Northridge, dispute centers on defendant. A Sikh source said much of the ing in the temple. power to remove anyone remain-

65X-LA-150918-50

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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ADL to Avoid Prosecution in Spying Case

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—After a yearlong investigation into charges that the Anti-Defamation League built a national intelligence network through illegal spying, Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith agreed Monday not to prosecute the organization in exchange for its payment of up to \$75,000 to fight hate crimes.

The prominent Jewish civil rights group, which had denied allegations of illegally receiving confi-

Please see ADL, A32

However, individuals who had been targeted by the Anti-Defamation League accused the district attorney of caving in to political pressure and letting the group off too lightly. Often, ADL critics have said, people were spied upon simply because they took public posi-

tions at odds with the government of Israel.

"This demonstrates once again the enormous political clout of the Israeli lobby in America," said former Republican Rep. Pete McCloskey, who was a target of ADL information-gathering and has filed one of two civil suits pending against the group. "It's an unusual result for what appeared to be an ironclad case. One wonders whether all defendants are treated the same under the law."

The settlement came as a San Francisco County grand jury was about to call Anti-Defamation League employees to testify in a criminal investigation spearheaded by prosecutor Smith.

ADL: Settle

Continued from A1
dential data from police sources, also pledged not to engage in improper information gathering activities in California.

The settlement represents a significant victory for the Anti-Defamation League, which had become caught up in an embarrassing case that highlighted its extensive intelligence operation and its infiltration of political and ethnic groups.

Under the settlement, the group will not regain possession of documents that contain privileged police information on about 1,400 groups and individuals. The materials had been seized from the group by San Francisco authorities during the investigation.

The Anti-Defamation League, which has long denied any wrongdoing, praised the agreement and said it would further the group's goal of combatting bigotry.

"The agreement we have reached confirms our consistent position that ADL has engaged in no misconduct of any kind," said national Chairman Melvin Salberg and national Director Abraham H. Foxman in a joint statement issued by their New York office.

Smith, who initially said he would follow the investigation wherever it led, could not be reached for comment.

But a source close to the probe said prosecutors were hampered by a recent civil court ruling that the Anti-Defamation League had certain legal protections as a journalistic organization because it publishes reports among its many functions.

The prosecution's case also was jeopardized by a contention that FBI wiretaps of key figures were not conducted legally, the source said.

The intelligence gathering activities of the Anti-Defamation League came to light last year when the FBI stumbled onto the fact that Roy Bullock, an ADL operative, and San Francisco Police Officer Tom Gerard, a former employee of the CIA, were selling

information to the South African government.

After questioning by the FBI, Gerard fled to the Philippines, leaving behind a briefcase filled with false IDs and information about death squads in Central America, where he was once stationed. He later returned to the United States and was arrested in San Francisco, where he is the only one facing charges in the case.

Voluminous documents released by prosecutors last spring revealed that over decades, Bullock, a San Francisco art dealer, had gathered information on nearly 10,000 individuals and more than 950 groups, spanning the spectrum from the Ku Klux Klan to the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Bullock's techniques included infiltrating groups, sorting through trash of target groups and trading information with police agencies up and down the West Coast.

Bullock admitted joining with Gerard to sell information to the South African government on people such as House Armed Services Committee Chairman Ron Dellums (D-Berkeley), receiving \$16,000 in cash over a four-year period.

Under the settlement, no charges will be brought against Bullock, whom Anti-Defamation League officials have praised as "damn good."

Under the agreement, the Anti-Defamation League will pay up to \$50,000 in reward money to solve hate crimes and as much as \$25,000 more to train Smith's prosecutors how to teach schoolchildren about the evils of bigotry.

Date: 11/16/93
Edition:

Title: ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-2-94 BY SP12 BTD/um

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

Indexing:

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FM DIRECTOR FBI

(S) TO FBI NEW YORK [REDACTED] (S) /ROUTINE/

FBI SAN FRANCISCO/ROUTINE/

FBI WMFO/ROUTINE/

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CITE: //0526//

12-2-94
Classified by ~~SP12 BTJ/m~~
Declassify on: OADR

(S) SUBJECT: [REDACTED] (S)

OO: NEW YORK.

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED ~~SECRET~~ (U)

(S) [REDACTED] (S)

(S) [REDACTED] (S)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS CLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

102000
[Handwritten signatures and stamps]

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(S) [REDACTED] (S)

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X

INVESTIGATION TO DATE HAS ESTABLISHED THAT SUBJECT MAY BE IDENTICAL TO AN INDIVIDUAL KNOWN FOR HIS PAST ANTI-JEWISH ACTIVITIES AND STATEMENTS. [REDACTED] CLAIMED TO BE THE LEADER OF THE CATHOLIC DEFENSE LEAGUE, A SELF-DESCRIBED ANTI-JEWISH ORGANIZATION.

Referral/Consult

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RECEIVING OFFICES ARE REQUESTED TO ADVISE SAN FRANCISCO OF

ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION WHICH MAY BE DEVELOPED IN THIS

(S) INVESTIGATION

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FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☒ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☒ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 1/6/94

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (65X-LA-153918) (RUC)

SUBJECT : UNSUBS;
 UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION
 LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU
 CLASSIFIED INFORMATION;
 ESP - X;
 OO: LOS ANGELES

12-2-94
 Classified by SP12 BTJ/um
 Declassify on OADR

This entire communication is classified "Secret." (U)

(U)

(S)

Re New York teletype dated 12/22/93

OO: NY

Enclosed for Los Angeles are two copies of
 referenced communication.

Referenced communication is being provided to Los
 Angeles for informational purposes, in case Los Angeles is in
 possession of information relative to captioned matter which
 may be of use to New York in that office's investigation.

- 2 - Bureau
 ② - Los Angeles (Enc. 2)
 6 - San Francisco

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65X-SF-104487

65X-LA-153918

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS CLASSIFIED
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 OTHERWISE

Classified By: G-3 (U)
 Declassify On: OADR
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105X-LA-153918-53

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FBI-LOS ANGELES	

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Transmitted

(Number)

(Time)

Per

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Approved:

CLASSIFIED BY: SP3 / WJ/mt

REASON: 1.5 (C)

DECLASSIFY ON: X

APP. 98.1098

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 b7E

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
 BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
 DATE 1/13/94 SP3 BTJ/um

~~SECRET~~(U)

For the further information of Los Angeles, it has been communicated to San Francisco from FBIHQ that San Francisco should cease to pursue its investigations, with which Los Angeles is familiar, regarding ADL employee [redacted] and former San Francisco Police Department officer [redacted]. San Francisco will thus no longer be in a position to obtain information of value regarding captioned matter, and so is placing it in an RUC status. (S)

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b7C

~~SECRET~~(U)

~~SECRET~~ (U)

DATE: 03-28-2013
CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22
REASON: 1.4 (c)
DECLASSIFY ON: 03-28-2038

U.S. Department of Justice



Federal Bureau of Investigation

~~SECRET~~ (U)

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

11000 Wilshire Boulevard #1700
Los Angeles, CA 90024

March 11, 1994

UNSUBS; UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS
AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL)
IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU SENSITIVE INFORMATION

This entire communication is classified "~~SECRET~~". (U)

OFFICE OF ORIGIN: Los Angeles

DATE INVESTIGATION SUMMARY PREPARED: 3/11/94.

BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION:

For information of FBIHQ, investigation was predicated on information received from FBI-San Francisco that a document resembling a Bureau LHM was found during a search of ADL offices in San Francisco. San Francisco Police (SFPD) and the Bureau jointly conducted the search [redacted]

[redacted] Many documents surfaced during the search, one of which was a document pertaining to the Nation of Islam. Because a San Francisco interview of a former ADL employee indicated that the NOI document originated in Los Angeles, San Francisco asked Los Angeles to determine if the document originated in a Los Angeles file.

INVESTIGATION TO DATE:

A review determined that the document was actually a FBI Chicago generated LHM, dated January 14, 1988, from Chicago file 100A-57011, titled the Nation of Islam (NOI); Domestic Terrorism-NOI; OO: Chicago.

100A-57011-54

1/2/99
CLASSIFIED BY: SP3/GJ/SM
REASON: 1.5
DECLASSIFY ON: X

CLASSIFIED BY 9933, DECL ON OADR
~~SECRET~~

100A-57011-54

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 3/13/02

~~SECRET~~

SP3/GJ/SM 9/10/02

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~SECRET~~ (U)

The LHM was disseminated via cover airtel to the Bureau, Alexandria, Dallas, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Phoenix and Chicago. Contained within the LHM was source reporting that indicated that the leader of NOI, LOUIS FARRAKHAN, was in contact with MOAMMAR QADHAFI, for the purpose of soliciting funds for NOI. The LHM, while not specifically classified, was located in a classified file. Previous versions of the LHM were disseminated as attachments to a secret airtel, sent under Chicago file 199G-1076. The classification level of the attachments was not indicated. In early 1993, former ADL employee [] recalled seeing (OIRCA 3/89) a copy of the LHM in the files of the ADL in Los Angeles. Attached to the copy of the LHM was a cover memo from ADL employee [] who had received the document. The cover memo was dated sometime in 1988, and noted that the ADL had received the LHM from "an official friend" and that it should be treated confidentially. FBI San Francisco set forth a lead to FBINY to contact the ADL in New York City, to determine if any Bureau documents were held at that location. The head of investigations for ADL was asked if they had a copy of the NOI document. They did, and indicated that the document they held originated in Los Angeles, and that copies were made and disseminated nationally. The ADL provided their copy of the NOI LHM to FBI San Francisco, which presented the LHM to FBI Los Angeles. Prior to giving the document to Los Angeles, San Francisco showed [] the document and asked him if it was the same as that which he had seen back in 1989. He said it was similar in that the "t" symbols on the document had been inked out. However the copy he had seen was, he believed, an original copy in that he could read the "t" symbols through the ink by holding the document up to the light.

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An interview of [] was not productive; however [] advised that DAVID LEHRER, as ADL regional director, might know who provided the document to the ADL.

Los Angeles indices for [] and LEHRER were negative, save for several contacts with Los Angeles inviting past SAC's to participate in ADL briefings and functions.

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~ (U)

The Los Angeles copy of Chicago file 100A-57011 was reviewed, and it was noted that three members of the FBI-LAPD terrorism task force had signed FD-159's acknowledging receipt of the NOI LHM. These individuals were Sgt [redacted] Los Angeles Sheriffs Department; Detective [redacted] and Detective [redacted] both of the LAPD.

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Concurrent with San Francisco's investigation of the South African connection to the SFPD and the ADL, a spate of newspaper articles and magazine articles have been published, and hundreds of letters to congressman and senators have been sent by angry constituents concerning the ADL and perceived invasions of privacy. In response to these articles both LEHRER and other ADL spokespersons have expressed awillingness to fully cooperate with any investigation of the ADL concerning the events originating in San Francisco.

OBJECTIVE:

An interview of ADL Official DAVID LEHRER is pending for further information concerning this matter. If he is unable to provide further information, consideration will be given to closing this investigation.

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FD-36 (Rev. 11-17-88)

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FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

- ☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☒ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE

- ☒ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

- ☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 3/11/94

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : SAC, Los Angeles Field Office (65X-LA-153918) (P)
SUBJECT : UNSUBS, UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION
OF BUREAU SENSITIVE INFORMATION;
ESP-X;
OO: LOS ANGELES

This entire communication is classified "~~SECRET~~"(U)

(U)

Enclosed for FBIHQ are six copies of a Letterhead
Memorandum (LHM) regarding subject.

Attached is the annual LHM regarding subject.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 9933, DECL ON OADR~~
~~SECRET~~ (U)

- 6 - Bureau (Encl. 6)
(2 - OIPR)
(4 - CI-1E, ATTN: SSA)
2 - Los Angeles

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Approved: _____ Transmitted _____ (Number) _____ (Time) Per _____

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE 3/13/04

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FBI

DATE: 03-28-2013
 CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22
 REASON: 1.4 (c)
 DECLASSIFY ON: 03-28-2038

TRANSMIT VIA:

☒ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☐ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☒ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☒ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS

Date 3/22/94

FM FBI LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-153918) (C)

TO DIRECTOR FBI/ROUTINE/

BT

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(U) CITE: //3410 FCI-3/1] (S)

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12-2-94
 Classified by SP12 BTJ/um
 Declassify on: OADR

SUBJECT: UNSUBS, UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-
 DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU SENSITIVE
 INFORMATION; ESP-X; OO: LOS ANGELES.

THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED SECRET.

(U)

FOR INFORMATION OF FBIHQ, INVESTIGATION WAS PREDICATED ON
 INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM FBI SAN FRANCISCO THAT A DOCUMENT
 RESEMBLING A BUREAU LHM WAS FOUND DURING A SEARCH OF ADL
 OFFICES IN SAN FRANCISCO. [SAN FRANCISCO POLICE (SFPD) AND THE
 BUREAU JOINTLY CONDUCTED THE SEARCH BASED

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FILE COPY

Approved: CJR/jmcOriginal filename: ABN00211081

Time Received: _____

Telprep filename: ABN00211081MRI/JULIAN DATE: 1882/082ISN: 017FOX DATE & TIME OF ACCEPTANCE: SECRET 3423-94 2359 10m

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^PAGE 2 65X-LA-153918 ~~SECRET~~ (U)

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[REDACTED] MANY DOCUMENTS SURFACED DURING THE SEARCH, ONE OF WHICH WAS A DOCUMENT PERTAINING TO THE NATION OF ISLAM.

BECAUSE A SAN FRANCISCO INTERVIEW OF A FORMER ADL EMPLOYEE INDICATED THAT THE NOI DOCUMENT ORIGINATED IN LOS ANGELES, SAN FRANCISCO ASKED LOS ANGELES TO DETERMINE IF THE DOCUMENT ORIGINATED IN A LOS ANGELES FILE.

AFTER A REVIEW OF INFORMATION RECEIVED TO DATE CONCERNING

THE PREDICATION OF THIS INVESTIGATION AND DISCERNABLE FACTS, AND ALL ^{INVESTIGATIVE ~~QUESTIONS~~ ^{QUESTIONS} EXHAUSTED,} LOS ANGELES IS PLACING THIS INVESTIGATION INTO A CLOSED

STATUS. SHOULD FURTHER INFORMATION BE RECEIVED THAT IMPLICATES A SPECIFIC INDIVIDUAL AS THE SOURCE WHO PROVIDED THE NOI DOCUMENT TO THE ADL, CONSIDERATION WILL BE GIVEN TO RE-OPENING THIS INVESTIGATION.

~~C BY 9933, DECL ON OADR~~

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